



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-103
Tuesday
1 June 1993

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1 June 1993

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WEU Official on Military Operations in Bosnia

*AU2905163393 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network
in German 0500 GMT 29 May 93*

[Interview with Western European Union [WEU] Secretary General Willem van Eekelen by Armin Wolf in Vienna; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Wolf] General Secretary van Eekelen, all international observers agree that the policy the international community has pursued in Yugoslavia has been anything but successful. Whose fault is this disaster?

[Van Eekelen] I think we should have used our military capabilities better two years ago. I said at the time that we should prevent the bombing of Dubrovnik by conducting an operation in the Adriatic, but it is too late now. I think we must restore our credibility now. I consider the security zones necessary because without them the Serbs will expand their territory and subsequently the Vance-Owen plan will be totally useless.

[Wolf] Two weeks ago, the United States was reportedly in favor of air raids and possibly lifting the arms embargo, which the Europeans have obviously rejected. Is the new plan now agreed upon not a poor one, in view of the tragedy in the Balkans?

[Van Eekelen] Yes, I too am somewhat disappointed. I think there is essentially a lack of political will—everywhere, not only in the United States, but also in Europe. We have considered the Yugoslav issue a humanitarian matter. The point, essentially, is the use of military force, and we have not yet reached agreement on this problem.

[Wolf] If you were a Serbian general in Bosnia, would you be afraid of the West?

[Van Eekelen] [Laughter] Hardly.

[Wolf] Well, should you not do something as Western European Union [WEU] secretary general?

[Van Eekelen] That is why I have always said that we should use our armed forces better. In this respect, Clausewitz has returned. We need military means to continue our political goals.

[Wolf] What type of military means?

[Van Eekelen] We have quite a few troops there. If we could give the troops new mandates—by the United Nations, of course—we would enhance our credibility.

[Wolf] Another question, Mr. van Eekelen. Several weeks ago, there were reports of medium-range missiles that the Serbs allegedly have. Being the WEU secretary general, you should be a particularly well-informed man. What do you know about these missiles?

[Van Eekelen] I think these reports are totally exaggerated. The Yugoslav Army did have certain missiles, but their range was not very great. They did not have Scud

missiles, but rather Frog missiles, the range of which is no more than about 100 kilometers.

[Wolf] This means that no one in Austria need be afraid?

[Van Eekelen] [Laughter] Hopefully not.

[Wolf] Since we were just talking about Austria, Defense Minister Fasslabend said last week that Austria should become a WEU member, if possible. Do you think this is at all possible? Does the WEU want us?

[Van Eekelen] The WEU said in Maastricht that we are open to other EC member-states. If Austria joins the European Community, there are two options: It can become a full member or a temporary observer. Generally, I would say that in the final analysis, Community members usually also become WEU members.

[Wolf] But nothing is possible before Austria is an EC member?

[Van Eekelen] No, there are possibilities for establishing contacts, but there can be no membership.

[Wolf] Can Austria as a WEU member, which it may eventually be some day, remain neutral?

[Van Eekelen] I do not think so. If you are a member of a union that also deals with common defense, you cannot be neutral, at least not in this respect, regarding common defense.

Bulgarians in Serbia Demand Recognition

*AU2805192093 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—The Congress of the Western Bulgarian Outlands led by Stefan Rangelov sent an expose to the Governments of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, asking that the population of the Western Outlands (in former Yugoslavia) be formally recognized as Bulgarian. The congress asks that Bulgarians be placed under the jurisdiction of Slovenia and Croatia. The congress, an organization of Bulgarians in former Yugoslavia, sent a copy of its expose to the BTA.

The Western Outlands were part of the former Bulgarian Kyustendil, Trun, Tsaribrod, and Kula regions—all still populated by Bulgarians—which were given to Serbia under the Treaty of Neuilly.

The Western Outlands should join Croatia and Slovenia, as the Bulgarian population has been and is still subjected to assimilation pressure by Serbia, according to the Western Outlands Congress.

The expose also says "the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia are lawful successors to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) and, to keep peace and stability in the Balkans, the Western Bulgarian Outlands should belong to these two Republics."

The document also points out the population of these regions was formally recognized as Bulgarian by former Yugoslavia.

Croat, Slovene Relations 'at Lowest Point'

*LD2705110393 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0937 GMT 27 May 93*

[By Vladimir Tibil]

[Text] Belgrade, May 27 (TANJUG)—The "close friendship" and "alliance" between the two former Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia are being put to the test for the umpteenth time.

Croatia is speedily continuing construction works near Portoroz on the Adriatic peninsula of Istria, on the very border with Slovenia—despite sharp notes which the Slovenian Foreign Ministry sent to the Zagreb authorities.

The Slovenian Government on Monday threatened it would take counter-measures if the Croatian side did not stop the works in the territory which Slovenia considered its own.

The Croatian authorities are ignoring Slovenia's demands, and as a result, Croatian-Slovenian relations are at the lowest point since they became independent two years ago.

The dispute is over the bed of the River Dragonja as a boundary—Croatia insists on the old river bed (before a salt-works was built near Portoroz) and Slovenia on the new one which was formed afterwards.

If Croatia's demand were recognized, the border would be more to the north, so that the Portoroz airport and the salt-works would belong to Croatia.

The Slovenian-Croatian border disputes, as many predict, might end up before international institutions even, which the Slovenian side is trying to avoid at all costs.

The political leadership in Ljubljana indicated the "territorial aspirations" of Croatia towards Slovenia,

warning that "the good relations between the two states did not bring anything good to Slovenia."

President of the Foreign Relations Committee of the State Council of Slovenian Parliament Zoran Taler said that Croatia's present policy was the "main reason for growing disagreements between the former close allies," recalling that Slovenia and Croatia had agreed during the proclamation of their independence two years ago that "the borders remain as they were before they became independent."

Border disputes between the two former Yugoslav republic are not new.

After the war for the secession of Croatia began in the autumn of 1991, Slovenia, which was the first to secede by force from the former Yugoslav Federation in June that year, started building bunkers on the border with Croatia, which provoked sharp protests from Croatia.

The tense relations resulted in the expulsion of 15 Croat officers from Slovenia, who were found "guilty of espionage activities for Croatia," and the Croatian authorities answered by "taking measures of retaliation against military experts of the Slovenian Army who are married to Croat women and live in Zagreb."

The bunkers were pulled down, but this did not prevent a new conflict from breaking out—this time, over Mt. Zumberak near Zagreb, an apple of discord between Slovenia and Croatia for centuries.

Slovenian fishermen are also victims of the Slovenian-Croatian border disputes because Croatia often forbids them to fish in the Croatian waters of the Adriatic, where the catch is the best.

In addition to the border disputes, relations between the two republics are also shaken by many other disputes—customs, trade, transportation...

From the very beginning, relations between the two allied wreckers of the former Yugoslavia were never the ideal model that both sides often tried to present.

Berisha Announces Support for Kosovo

AU2805185693 Hamburg *DIE WOCHE in German*
27 May 93 p 17

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by Branimir B. Brljevic; place and date not given: "Milosevic Needs War"]

[Text] [Brljevic] In a referendum the Bosnian Serbs came out in favor of continuing the war in Bosnia. However, the West is wooing the Serbs and wants to continue negotiations. Do you think this is right?

[Berisha] The international community must finally initiate concrete measures. The sanctions are not sufficient; the Serbian aggressors only understand the language of violence.

[Brljevic] Is it already too late for a military intervention in Bosnia?

[Berisha] It is certainly not too late. The Serbs must be held responsible for what they have done.

[Brljevic] So far they have been rewarded with more and more concessions....

[Berisha] In this war many things are measured with a double standard. The Vance-Owen plan was hardly more than an alibi for doing nothing. However, one day the world will realize that further hesitation might also be dangerous for itself.

[Brljevic] The Serbian repression against the Albanian population in Kosovo is increasing. Is this "ethnic cleansing"?

[Berisha] "Ethnic cleansing" has long been a habit in Kosovo. Serbia's President Milosevic is preparing for war there. The world must finally understand that the war will spread if he is permitted to do what he wants.

[Brljevic] What will you do if there is war?

[Berisha] We will not hesitate to help our brothers.

[Brljevic] Will Albania declare war on Belgrade on its own?

[Berisha] I think that a NATO intervention will be unavoidable then. The monstrous potential of the Yugoslav Army must be destroyed if we want to avoid a third war in the Balkans.

[Brljevic] What are the indications that Milosevic wants to shift the war to Kosovo?

[Berisha] Milosevic needs the war to survive. As soon as the Bosnian Serbs have achieved their goals, another conflict will be necessary. The front might return to Croatia. However, as long as the United Nations cements the Serbian conquests in Croatia, the danger to Kosovo is much greater.

[Brljevic] Does Albania deliver oil to Serbia to buy peace?

[Berisha] These are only rumors. We are strictly observing the embargo. Supporting Serbia in this dirty war would not only be stupid and dangerous, it would be unethical.

[Brljevic] Turkey, a NATO country, has announced military options if the war shifts to Kosovo. Is Albania, which has been an associate member of the alliance for a few days, included in the plans for intervention?

[Berisha] We are already making certain preparations if there should be an intervention.

[Brljevic] Can an intervention against Serbia solve the Kosovo problem?

[Berisha] We cannot deny the Albanians in Kosovo the right to self-determination. It was Serbia that violated the Yugoslav Constitution and abolished Kosovo's autonomy. Until then Kosovo was a constituent element of the federal state; twice it even provided the president. A military intervention alone cannot solve the problem—but it could initiate the process of looking for a democratic solution.

[Brljevic] The end of which would be a united Greater Albania?

[Berisha] No changes in the border! We recognize the borders of the former Yugoslav republics. In 1992 we recognized the Republic of Kosovo.

[Brljevic] Is the situation in the Balkans really so complicated as it seems to the Western politicians?

[Berisha] It is very simple. If the world does not stop the Serbian expansion, the war will spread to Kosovo, Macedonia, Albania, and other states. Then, at the latest, the international community will have to react.

Appeals for Intervention

LD3105184693 Belgrade *TANJUG in English*
1814 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Washington, May 31 (TANJUG)—Albanian President Sali Berisha has again grossly interfered in neighbouring Yugoslavia's affairs by appealing to the United States and NATO to intervene militarily in Kosovo-Metohija, the southern province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Pledging that Albania would respect the principle of non-violability of borders, Berisha told *THE NEW YORK TIMES* that Albania would oppose with all means at its disposal what he described as a continuation of Serbia's campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

In the interview, carried by the daily on Monday, Berisha asked Washington and NATO to use military force to turn Kosovo-Metohija into a neutral area under U.N. control and without the presence of the Yugoslav Army.

Albania borders with Kosovo-Metohija, where a strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active for decades. Alleging violations of human and minority

rights, the movement works for the international recognition of the unlawfully proclaimed "Republic of Kosovo," its secession from Serbia and Yugoslavia and annexation to Albania.

Berisha's appeal comes after the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Spain met in Washington on May 22 and adopted a joint action programme for ending the crisis in former Yugoslavia, in which they clearly stated they would not condone Kosovo-Metohija's secession.

THE NEW YORK TIMES says the Albanian president refused to specify how the position of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija should be resolved, saying there were many forms of confederation.

THE NEW YORK TIMES writes that the ethnic Albanian separatist leadership of Kosovo-Metohija closely coordinates its policy with the government in Tirana for the limited purpose of protecting Albanian presence in Kosovo-Metohija.

Government Statement on Serbian Policy in Kosovo

LD0106104093 Tirana ATA in English 1002 GMT 1 Jun 93

["Statement of the Albanian Government"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, June 1 (ATA)—The Serbian Communist chauvinistic power led by Milosevic, is for years persecuting the Albanian people in Kosova using the most inhuman means of the police terror, dismissals, closing of schools in the Albanian language and the mass media in the mother tongue. Through this suffocating atmosphere prevailing in Kosova, Milosevic and his followers are attaining without much fuss what they are realising through bloodshed and massacres in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

This policy which is continuing for 3 years now against the Albanians in the Republic of Kosova is challenging the very foundations of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, the Final Act of Helsinki and other international documents.

After closing of (?Rilindja) and the radio television of Kosova, the regime of Milosevic dealt its final blow at the mass media in the Republic of Kosova by closing the only newspaper in the Albanian language and [word indistinct] those few periodical magazines that had remained. This marked the complete ruin of the system of information in the Albanian language, a system which supports peaceful opinion for the solution of the question of Kosova and the Albanian one in general. The closure of the Albanian press leaves in total darkness the Albanian public opinion, narrowing of the scope of action of the democratic forces.

The hunger strike, this heroic gesture of the distinguished Albanian intellectual from Kosova, Adem Demaci, chairman of the Council for the Defence of the Human Rights and

Freedoms in Pristine, winner of Sacharov prize by the European Parliament, is a logical consequence of the Serbian medieval domination and the occupation of Kosova from the Serbian military forces and testimony to the Albanian spirit which does not kneel before the military and political violence of the occupier.

The Albanian Government highly appreciates the human and national rights and calls on the international public, including the Serb one, to halt the hand of chauvinism and end national and political oppression in Kosova. It supports the just struggle of the Albanians in Kosova and the action of the Albanian intellectual Adem Demaci. It considers this action as an attempt to prevent a more severe reaction and the further increase of tension which would be a catastrophe not only to the Albanian people but also the Serb people.

Socialist Party Protests Violence in Kosovo

AU2905202893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] A statement issued by the Presidency of the Socialist Party of Albania [PSSH] states that the present situation in Kosovo, the fierce terrorism, violence, and ethnic cleansing against the Albanian population, and the appearance of unprecedented conquest at the end of this century, calls on all states, institutions, and figures in the democratic world to undertake concrete, effective, and fast actions to stop this tragedy with its untold consequences. After learning that several international positions and initiatives view the Kosovo problem through a narrow lens and without any perspective, the statement says that no state, be it large or acting in conjunction with other nations, can reduce the Kosovo problem to simply the absence of respect for human rights. No one has the right to try to decide on the nonrecognition of the political rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo.

The PSSH cannot reconcile itself with the denial of the right for self-determination to the Albanian people in Kosovo. These people have expressed their aspirations in a peaceful and dignified way through a referendum and democratic solutions, at a time when the Serbian authorities continue to keep Kosovo under a state of complete conquest, repressing and denying all rights.

The statement also states that we have stressed and remain faithful to the view that the respect for the principle of nonviolation of borders in the Balkans does not run counter to the recognition of the peoples' right for self-determination. This is valid not only for the other peoples of the former Yugoslavia, but for Albanians, who are not a national minority but, as far as their number is concerned, rank as the third autochthonous nation in the former Yugoslavia. The treatment of the Albanian population in Yugoslavia as a minority is beyond all logic and reality, and bears shocking consequences for the stability and the destiny of the peoples living in the Balkan region.

We denounce the Serbian state as a conqueror and aggressor. If international standards defined in the UN Charter, Helsinki Final Act, and Paris Charter are not applied for the people of Kosovo as they are for others, conflict will not be avoided and the consequences will be bitter, not only for the Albanian people but for the Balkan and European peoples as well. Everyone should know that every action favoring the Serbian aggressors will result in victims and not victors. We should call the aggressor an aggressor, and the victim a victim.

Concerning our national question, the statement concludes, it is time to maintain a common and convincing position, providing arguments from all political groups. It is time that the world should hear our strong and unique voice. It is time to follow a dignified and fruitful foreign policy. Let us work together with a realistic, national strategy that brings the Albanians, wherever they live, nearer to civilized Europe.

Reporters' League Protests Closure of Rilindja

AU2705150893 Tirana ATA in English 1012 GMT
27 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—The Reporters' League of Albania protested on May 26 through a statement in the mass media against the closure of "Rilindja" Printing House of Prishtina, the only publishing enterprise of the Albanian papers and magazines in Kosova. This decision of the Serbian power has forced into a hunger strike the director of the magazine ZERI, Adem Demaci, who is also chairman of the Human Rights and Freedom's Forum for Kosova. Scores of other Kosova reporters followed the example of Demaci. This act shows not only the "anti-Albanian predisposition of the Serbian power, but also the lack of responsibility of the Serbian politicians towards the fate of the culture of a people. Now Kosova is the only country in the world with 2 million inhabitants living in it and where no paper is published in their mother tongue."

Further on, the statement considers the self sacrificing acts of Adem Demaci and other reporters in the hunger strike as symbols of the resistance of a people who are trying to civilize, through self sacrifice, one of the most dictatorial state power in Europe. They are at strike to show the world the terrible ending a people is heading to as a result of the chauvinistic craziness of the Serbian power, the statement says among others. This statement is addressed to the Council of Europe, two international organizations of reporters, and to the Balkan Press Center.

EC Assistance Offered in Various Fields

AU2705200093 Tirana ATA in English 1008 GMT
27 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 27 (ATA)—The discussion, treatment of specific questions of the aid of the European

Community on Albania continued on May 26 in separate working groups in various fields such as medicine, agriculture, industry, mass media, human rights, etc., in the context of the seminar which started on May 25 in the Palace of Congresses in Tirana.

Agriculture, Food Aid, and Compensation Funds

The supply with agricultural materials, mechanisation, assistance in coordinating the aid offered in the sector of agriculture, the management and application of the programs offered by the European Community, the qualification of cadres were brought into the focus of the discussion with experts of agriculture of the EC, Albanian specialists from the districts and the respective ministry.

The PHARE program of the European Community for agriculture started in Albania in October 1992. For 1993-1994, the participants in the meeting underlined, envisages to pass from the supply with material basis into a broader form for the whole agricultural production and marketing. The amount of the aid for the application of the program in this field is envisaged to be about 12 million dollars.

The Health Sector and the First Medical Service

The working group of experts and specialists in the field of health discussed the projects of assistance of the European Community so far applied in Albania and concrete proposals were made for the future. The European Community envisages for the future a special care regarding the field of the first medical aid, rehabilitation of medical centers, qualification of cadres and medical staff. It will also offer its emergency aid in other sectors of health.

European Community and Mass Media

In the work of this group an information was also given on the activity of the European Community in the field of mass media. The free discussion of the participants were concentrated on the financial aspects for the press, the indispensable integration of the press in the market economy in order to make it profitable, the question of the freedom of press, the relation between the fact and the commentary. The idea of creating an international association of reporters for Albania was launched, after the respective legislation will be prepared, with the increase of the assistance and further cooperation of the EC and its organizations with the Albanian mass media.

Support for the Rehabilitation of Industry

Rehabilitation of some Albanian industries, resumption of production in them, the supply with spare parts, raw material, training of specialists have been considered very important by the European Community. These questions were discussed in the working group for this important sector of the Albanian economy. A great place was devoted to the PHARE program in Albania, the obtaining and distribution of industrial aid, directed to and applied in Albania by Italtrend, which is realising programmes regarding the agricultural and industrial aid.

Dam Floodgate Blown Up Near Plovdiv*AU0106072193 Sofia BTA in English 2020 GMT
31 May 93*

[Text] Sofia, May 31 (BTA)—The floodgate of the Choba Dam in the region of Plovdiv has been blown up today, most probably by wilfully placing an explosive, the Civil Defence informed. The capacity of the dam is about one million cubic metres, but as it is not full, for the time being there is no danger of a rupture of the dam.

A civil defence operative team from Plovdiv was sent to the place of the accident to prevent a possible flood, a relief group also hurried there. The population in the nearby villages of Bolyarino and Shishmantsi was put on the alert.

Situation Appears Serious*AU0106082793 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 1 Jun 93*

[Text] This is the latest announcement on developments in the Plovdiv area since the explosion of the Choba-5 dam floodgate, which was reported last night.

The expectations of the Civil Defense that the alarming situation in the area could be brought under control following the adopted emergency measures, did not come true.

The situation continues to be tense. The attempt to reduce the pressure on the earth dam by digging a discharge channel was no help, because the water is running at great speed. There is a real danger that the earth bank may burst with the pressure.

The authorities hope that the special frogmen's group urgently summoned from Varna may succeed in blocking a grating at the bottom of the dam.

The possible evacuation of the population from the most exposed place, namely from Bolyarino Village, situated at a distance of six kilometers from the Choba 5 dam, is planned with the assistance of the Armed Forces.

Berov Meets With Czech Competition Minister*AU2805192293 Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Bulgaria and the Czech Republic should revitalize their traditional economic ties which may help them overcome the difficulties of the transition period sooner, Czech Minister for Economic Competition Stanislav Belehradec said at a press conference today. He is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of Stefan Neshev, chairman of the Parliamentary Commission for Protection of Competition. Mr. Belehradec is the first Czech minister to visit Bulgaria after Czecho-Slovakia split.

The guest stressed there were many promising areas of cooperation. He spoke about the success of privatization

through bonds in the Czech Republic, whose second stage is scheduled to end in 1994.

Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and Mr. Belehradec today discussed privatization in the two countries, the Government Press Office said. They share the view that privatization eases social tensions and engages many people in the management of privatized property. Mr. Berov stressed Bulgaria's economy would benefit from a future cooperation between the two countries.

Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, met Mr. Belehradec today to discuss the experience of the Czech Republic in privatization. The meeting was attended by Ilko Eskenazi, who was deputy prime minister of the previous cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov. Mr. Dimitrov said Bulgaria was following closely the economic reform in the Czech Republic. "We realize that after the stalling of economic processes in Bulgaria in the last few months we may have to retrace steps we have already made," he said.

ROK Economic Mission Arrives in Sofia*AU2805203193 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—A 15-member delegation of the Korean Chamber of Commerce and Industry arrived here today, led by Sang-ha Kim, president of the chamber. The delegation will exchange views with Bulgarian partners on bilateral trade and opportunities for Korean investment in Bulgaria, the delegation's leader said on his arrival.

Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev received the delegation later on. From May 28 to 31 the Korean Economic Mission will meet Bulgarian representatives to explore opportunities for broader economic, cultural and tourist contacts.

The Bulgarian Government hopes to get know-how, to attract investment and step up bilateral trade to speed the economic recovery, Mr. Matinchev said.

Cut in Funds for East European Debts Urged*AU0106125993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
27 May 93 p 8*

[Nikolay Zhukov report from Sofia on 26 May]

[Excerpt] According to the viewpoint put forward by the Parliamentary Economic Commission before the second reading of the 1993 budget bill, only 400 million leva of the 903 million leva earmarked in the state budget should be spent on settling the trade balances with the countries of Eastern Europe. National Assembly Deputy Andrey Lukanov suggested that the remaining 503 million leva should be allocated to the Ministry of Health, and the members of the commission voted in favor of his proposal.

Ivan Kolev, chief of the Trade Ministry Department for Countries in Transition, reported that the country owes 300 million transferable rubles [R] to the former Czechoslovakia, R450 million to Poland, and R85 million to Hungary. In his view, if the debt to the former socialist countries is not repaid in goods before the end of 1993, then in 1994 it will have to be settled in U.S. dollars. Ivan Kolev described the situation as a unique opportunity to pay the amounts at minimum cost in the form of goods. [passage omitted]

SDS Denounces Land Act Amendment

AU2705173393 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian
21 May 93 p 1

[Declaration issued by the Union of Democratic Forces Parliamentary Group; place and date not given: "Bulgarians, Your Property Is Threatened!"]

[Text] From the moment the request for amending the Land Act was submitted to parliament to this very day, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Parliamentary Group has upheld its stance of principle in defense of the land owners. The SDS Parliamentary Group, both in the permanent commissions as well as during the first reading of the proposed bill, tried with all efforts to prevent the adoption of amendments to the Land Act aimed at affecting the rights of land owners and depriving them of the opportunity to restore their legitimate property. The amendment to the Land Act which deprives the population of inhabited settlements of its already restored ownership rights to the advantage of privileged individuals—the majority of whom are connected with the communist nomenklatura—was adopted today. The amendment of the Land Act also benefits those individuals who own other properties and real estate in different parts of the country. The act is thoroughly anti-social and profoundly unethical. It by no means protects the interests of homeless people. Even those whose property has already been restored are once again suffering losses. The amendment in question is nothing but the beginning of a series of changes to the detriment of owners, which the new parliamentary majority (composed of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Rights and Freedoms Movement, and the New Alliance for Democracy) is trying to implement. The opportunity to totally replace the structure and staffs of the liquidation councils, and thus, recruit individuals who are convenient for the former communists and their servants, has thus been created. As a result of this, the land reform is likely to stagnate and the former labor cooperative farms to be revived under the form of some allegedly new, pro-communist pseudo-cooperatives. The purpose of the amendment is to once again transform the rural population into a collectivized mass of peasants deprived of all rights and rob them of all their earnings, as was done throughout the 45 years under the totalitarian regime.

In a future election campaign, the new communist liquidation councils will try to buy the votes of the rural population with the shares they are expected to receive.

Bulgarians, your property is being threatened. The treason of our former allies has reduced us to a minority in parliament, which instead of adopting the necessary taxation and social welfare laws, is now revising the basic legal acts aimed at promoting the change of the system.

Early parliamentary elections are the only salvation for Bulgaria.

Alliance for Social Democracy Views BSP

AU2905201393 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT
29 May 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 29 (BTA)—The Federation of Anarchists in Bulgaria opened its congress. This is the first official national forum of anarchists after a break of 60 years in the activity of their organization. The congress was convened to reestablish the federation formally. Tomorrow the participants are expected to elect their governing bodies. There are guests from France and Spain.

An international youth conference on "Stability in the Balkans" opened in Sofia today. Organized by the Socialist Youth League, it is attended by 60 representatives of 12 organizations of different political orientation in Albania, Macedonia, Serbia, Cyprus, and Greece. The conference will discuss young people's cooperation in the implementation of a policy of peace in the Balkans as well as in culture, sports and youth tourism. The participants in the forum were greeted by President Zhelyu Zhelev. [passage omitted]

A Turkish-registered TIR [International Road Transport] truck carrying liquid explosive substance broke down near Shipka Peak (the Balkan Range, central Bulgaria). Civil defence units are standing guard over the truck and working to remove the damage. [passage omitted]

At today's meeting the Political Council of the Alliance for Social Democracy (ASD, a social democratic platform in the Bulgarian Socialist Party) considered a report analysing the political and economic situation in Bulgaria. The major conclusion is that in result of the policy followed hitherto, the country gets gradually isolated from the European economic structures. The author of the report, Aleksandur Tomov, a National Assembly member, formerly deputy prime minister, proposes to form a nation-wide civil union as a balance between the extremism of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the conservative and revanchist feelings in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], the union will try to find the formula of national concord.

Another conclusion which the ASD made is that a process is under way in the BSP which closes it and can push it to the left corner of political life. There is a strife to keep the party going as a post-communist one. The ASD should analyse all possible ways for turning the BSP into a party capable of seeking interaction with the different formations and movements of left centrist or liberal centrist orientation—this is one of the purposes which the ASD has set itself to achieve. At the same time the ASD will seek the fulcrum and means for its independent work and presence in the country's political life.

Deputies Help To Form New Party

*AU0106100893 Sofia BTA in English 0823 GMT
1 Jun 93*

[From BTA press review]

[Text] Sofia, June 1 (BTA)—The press provides extensive coverage of the establishment of a new formation called Civil Alliance for the Republic. Mr. Aleksandur Tomov MP of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and Mr. Slavyan Saparev, MP of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] in the previous parliament, were elected deputy chairmen of the alliance. Interviewed in TRUD, Mr. Saparev says that the organization is not elitist. Mr. Tomov told 24 CHASA that the alliance will hold a congress before September. "I will not coalesce and that's what makes me different," Mr. Tomov claims. 24 CHASA writes that Mr. Tomov took a selective approach in forming his alliance. Mr. Krasimir Premyanov, a member of the BSP leadership, tells the same daily that Mr. Tomov is the latest in a series of examples of BSP people trying to set up formations as exponents of their own ego. Interviewed for OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK, Mr. Tomov denies pursuing personal ambitions by the initiative. In an article in DUMA, the daily's editor-in-chief Stefan Prodev writes that the establishment of Mr. Tomov's alliance confronts the BSP Supreme

Council with crucial and intricate problems and avoiding an answer may plunge the party into a crisis.

Customs Chief Admits Officers Taking Bribes

*AU2805135893 Sofia BTA in English 1324 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Sofia, May 28 (BTA)—Some 5 per cent of all 2,441 Bulgarian customs officers take bribes, says Khristo Kulishev, boss of the Customs Department-General, interviewed by the TRUD daily. According to him, the corruption problem is no less acute in the government, tax administration and police.

No audit of the customs has taken place for four years. The officer would have the tax administration run a check of all customs officers for undeclared income. "With a monthly salary of 3,500 leva, a customs officer cannot afford to buy a flat for several million leva and two Western cars, after six months of service, and there are such cases," Mr. Kulishev says.

According to Mr. Kulishev, corruption in the customs ranges from taking foreign currency from tourist groups to forgery of documents to smuggle large quantities of goods into and out of this country. The mechanism of hiding corrupt practices is so efficient that it prevents the adoption of radical measures, says the officer.

"I'd question the need for trade unions in the customs," says Mr. Kulishev. He says he signed twenty orders to dismiss officers for office abuses, but they were reinstated, following trade union protests.

The customs in 1992 instituted administrative investigative proceedings against nearly 9,000 offenders, says Mr. Kulishev. The government last year collected 2,000 million leva in customs duties and charges (1 dollar exchanges for 26 leva). At the recommendation of the International Monetary Fund, it plans this year to collect 12,800 million leva in revenue, which would be almost unbearable for the customs, according to the chief officer.

Klaus Sends Telegram to Poland's Suchocka

LD2805173993 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network
in Czech 1400 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] The firm belief that the present government crisis in Poland will be overcome and that it will be possible to continue mutual, successful cooperation was expressed today by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in a telegram to Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka.

She resigned this morning after the Sejm gave a vote of no confidence in her.

The Czech prime minister said that he has always had full trust in her political abilities and in her firm will to continue the profound political and economic changes which will complete the process of Poland's integration into Europe.

Klaus Rejects Talks With Sudeten Germans

LD2905185893 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT
29 May 93

[Text] Jihlava, south Moravia, May 29 (CTK)—Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today rejected demands for direct talks between the Czech Republic and Sudeten Germans as unacceptable for the Czechs.

Klaus was reacting to appeals of official representatives of the German and Bavarian Governments heard at the opening of this year's 44th Sudeten German day at the Norimberk exhibition ground.

Klaus said that the German Government is a negotiating partner for the Czech Republic and the cabinet, and that a number of home (Czech) organisations, individuals, and politicians are partners for talks with Sudeten Germans.

Klaus said that this is the forum where relations with Sudeten Germans will be developed. None of us is interested in blocking these relations, he stressed. It is in the Czech Republic's interest that relations between Czechs and Sudeten Germans are as good as possible.

On statements concerning the compensation of Czechs and Germans (for wrongs committed during and after the Second World War) and demands for applying the principle of reciprocity, Klaus said it is unacceptable for the Czech side that these phenomena be viewed symmetrically.

On the appeals that the Czech Republic recognise the Sudeten Germans right to home, Klaus said that the right to home is not the right in the classic meaning of the word. Home is not an entity as a republic, country, state, and the like. Everyone, not only Sudeten Germans, has the right to ask for granting citizenship of the Czech Republic, and everyone can live in this country and consider it his or her home, Klaus concluded.

Klaus Discusses Role of Public Institutions

AU2805124293 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech
26 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci; place and date not given: "Private Interests of Public Institutions"]

[Text] [Krejci] Prime Minister, the Chamber of Deputies keeps appointing new boards of various public-service institutions, then it frequently criticizes them and does not know what to do about them. How do you feel about the existence of these boards and about the public-service institutions in general?

[Klaus] The feeling is negative. One must clearly state what really is important in this country at this time. We have lived in a nationalized world, with a nationalized society and economy, and the principal objective of our orientation is that those matters that do not have to be decided at the central state level should be decided at the individual level. That is also the purpose of privatization, which is in essence a basic manifestation of the transfer from collective decision making to private decision making, and the longer we follow this path the better.

On the other hand, this does not mean that the state will be left with zero, while 100 percent is transferred to private decision making. There certainly are areas in which the state represents the citizenry as a whole, must act on its behalf, and therefore cannot be substituted. In this respect, I am not a fundamentalist, and believe that something should be left to the state. This applies, for instance, to the question of how to make decisions about television and radio broadcasting, how to control this or that in the power-generating industry or in the environment. In this respect, the entire issue is taking a wrong, false turn here. The state is as though suspect, and it is argued that some kind of a public service is better than the state. That is, however, a terrible mystification, a one-dimensional view, and an oversimplification of the issue, because collective decision-making also takes place in the public-service institution, and therefore it is different from private and individual decision-making. The difference is that in the case of the state, a conscious and broadly conceived collective choice is made (whether well or poorly is irrelevant). In the instance of the currently fashionable orientation toward public-service institutions, however, a quasi-collective choice is made, i.e., it is based on an entirely different principle, which no longer is generally civic but mostly rather narrowly focused.

An ideal example is the Radio and Television Broadcasting Council, the establishment of which was based on the idea that artists and radio and television experts, rather than miners, chauffeurs, Finance Ministry officials, or anybody else should be making the decisions. Thus, this and other councils are built on the interest and professional bases of the people who really have a lot to

gain or lose by sitting on them. The general civic principle disappears completely, however, and the limited, often lobbyist principle dominates. The original objective of the entire issue—that the decision-making stays on a collective level rather than being transferred to private hands—vanishes completely, and turns into a deviated private interest that is deceitfully camouflaged under the cloak of public interest.

Defense Minister Views NATO Integration

*AU2805120293 Prague CTK in English 2017 GMT
26 May 93*

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—Germany does not set any specific conditions for the Czechs' admission to NATO, but it is up to NATO to decide whether or not it wants to admit the Czech Republic, Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys said after his return from a three-day visit to Germany today.

Some 20 billion korunas (about \$700 million) would be needed annually in the next five to ten years to completely rearm the Czech Army and to make it compatible with the NATO armies, he said.

This is entirely unfeasible. Nevertheless, we want to strive for NATO membership and for attaining the compatibility, but this must be done gradually, Baudys stressed.

The first step towards compatibility would be the formation of a task force equipped with modern weapons and capable cooperating with NATO units, he said.

On Monday [24 May] Baudys and his German counterpart Volker Ruhe signed in Bonn an agreement on military cooperation between their countries.

Interior Minister Ruml on Border With Slovakia

*LD2805212593 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Prague, May 28 (CTK)—The possibility of the Czech Republic creating a border with Slovakia unilaterally is not to be excluded, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml said today.

If negotiations now underway between the Czech and Slovak Foreign Ministries do not go anywhere, Ruml said, he would propose appropriate measures to the Czech Government at the beginning of June. I think we cannot wait long. Let's be successful in concluding diplomatic negotiations, but if we are not, I will seriously propose speedy measures to prepare a definitive solution from the Czech side, he said.

Ruml said he did not discuss the question of border crossing with Slovak Interior Minister Josef Tichyna while the two were in Rome attending an international conference on drug trafficking problems, but that the situation would determine whether the Czech Republic signed a readmission agreement with Germany. I will

not sign the readmission agreement with Germany if the Czech-Slovak border is not under control, he said.

He also expressed disagreement with the Slovak position that it would be sufficient for Slovakia to secure its other borders without strengthening the Czech-Slovak border. Neither Mr. Meciar nor Mr. Tichyna is answerable to the Czech Parliament or to the citizens of this country for the security situation, he said.

If the border is not strengthened, he said, it would be necessary to amend very quickly the law on foreigners' residence, which states that foreigners must enter the Czech Republic through border crossings. If there is no border between the Czech and Slovak Republics, it would be impossible to enforce the law, he said.

Ruml also applauded the new German asylum law from a strategic point of view. It will be possible to lessen the rush of illegal migrants to a certain degree because they will find out that they can no longer enjoy the social benefits guaranteed them until now by the 1949 asylum law. He noted, however, that the law was likely to cause an increase in the number of non-asylum-seeking migrants intending to stay in the Czech Republic.

Ruml said he had not discussed financial support from Germany as part of a readmission agreement, but noted that in no case would such support be used to set up migrant camps and an administration to run them. We do not want the Czech Republic to become known as a replacement asylum country behind Germany. We have said clearly that if financial support is discussed, it will be used for limiting illegal migration, he said, adding that it would also not be used for strengthening the Czech-Slovak border.

Radio, Television Council Chairman Resigns

*LD2705193193 Prague CTK in English 1849 GMT
27 May 93*

[Text] Prague, May 27 (CTK)—Daniel Korte resigned today as chairman and member of the Czech Republic's Council for Radio and Television Broadcasts, announcing his decision by a letter addressed to chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament Milan Uhde.

Korte told journalists that in April 1992 he accepted the post believing he would work for a body which is conceived as an institution independent of the government and political parties.

Such a model has proved in a number of democratic countries, he said and added that an independent council guarantees the freedom of speech and independence of radio and television broadcasting.

The council was set up as a body to ensure public control of radio and television broadcasts.

Korte is convinced that by its year-long activity, the council has markedly contributed to the demonopolisation of broadcasting and to making it independent of the state.

But the tendency towards curbing the powers of the council and its independence have been escalated over the past months. This tendency culminated during the discussion of a new report on the state of broadcasting and on the council's activity at a meeting of the Chamber of Deputies on May 21, 1993. It was clear then that not the quality of the report, but the council as such, the principle of the existence of an independent institution was in the centre of deputies' attention. A change in the council's status as it is often mentioned by some deputies and the premier (Vaclav Klaus) himself, or eventual politisation of the council would be an unfortunate step back. I am not going to participate in this, Korte said.

He said the situation is heading for the establishment of something like a ministry of information ... the idea to have a government commissioner to replace the council is great, Korte said ironically.

IMF Waiting for Coupon Privatization Results

AU2805124693 Prague CTK in English 0652 GMT
26 May 93

[Text] Washington, May 26 (CTK correspondent)—The IMF is waiting with great interest to see how coupon privatization will impact on the Czech economy, Czech Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky told journalists after his meeting Tuesday [25 May] with the IMF's European Operations Director Massimo Russo.

Skalicky, who is on a four-day visit to the United States, said that if the process proved a success, the IMF would recommend it to other countries currently preparing privatization plans.

He said the IMF was waiting to see if coupon privatization, involving some six million shareholders, would lead to the creation of a stable capital market. Skalicky said he believed it would, as surveys indicated most shareholders favored long-term investments over short-term profit.

Skalicky said Russo praised the results of a regular IMF fact-finding mission which traveled to the Czech capital to analyze developments in the Czech economy last week.

Trade Unions Reject Wage Control Talks

AU2805122093 Prague CTK in English 1749 GMT
26 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—The Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions (CMKOS) will refuse to take part in Thursday's [27 May] talks with the government on wage regulation, CMKOS Chairman Vladimir Petrus said today.

He said the Chamber was refusing because its position had been distorted by the media and because the government's proposal to introduce wage controls was based on completely different criteria than those in the General Agreement on Wages.

Petrus was reacting to Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus' statement Tuesday [25 May] that on May 27 the government would familiarize its negotiating partners with its proposal, which would regulate wages as of July 1.

The government's claims that wage increases outstripped the country's economic performance during the first quarter of this year are based on insufficient statistical data, according to a CMKOS statement given to journalists. The statement adds that the government is intentionally manipulating economic data which completely contradicts its claim that wage increases are causing inflation.

There is no reason for the tripartite (of government, trade unions and employers) to discuss Thursday any kind of regulation or financial sanctions on the basis of figures from the first quarter, CMKOS Deputy Chairman Vaclav Vanek said.

He said that economic figures for April gave the government no reason to suppose, as it is doing, that wages will rise faster than the cost of living in the second quarter. If the government can see so far in advance and knows this will happen in the second quarter, then we would like to know on what basis it is proceeding, Vanek said.

Petrus pointed out that according to the General Agreement, no discussions on wage control may take place until after July 20, when figures for the second quarter become available. He added that the unions will insist on abiding by the agreement, and that they reserve the right to take further steps. He declined to be specific.

Again it turns out that the government, at a critical stage of economic development, can find no other solution than to transfer the burden of transformation onto the working part of the population, the CMKOS statement reads.

Socialist Party Changes Name, Elects Chairman

LD3005143693 Prague CTK in English 1335 GMT
30 May 93

[Text] Sec u Chrudimi, East Bohemia, May 30 (CTK)—Pavel Hirs was elected last night new chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS) at the 26th party congress held here from May 28.

Hirs, who replaced CSS Chairman Ladislav Dvorak, wants to restore the party's identity and occupy the centre of the political spectrum. He plans to withdraw from the Liberal Social Union (LSU) of which the CSS has been a member, together with the Agrarian Party and the Greens Party. Hirs said that the LSU is not a movement of political centre, but a left-leaning party. However, his party's withdrawal will yet have to be analysed, Hirs told CTK, adding that it is still an open question.

Hirs considers his partners to be the party of Czech entrepreneurs, tradesmen and farmers, the Self-Governing Democracy Movement of Moravia and Silesia and part of former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier's Civic Movement (OH).

Delegates to the congress today approved a new name of the CSS—Liberal National Social Party (LSNS).

The congress was attended by LSU Chairman Frantisek Trnka and Czech Social Democratic Party (CSSD) Chairman Milos Zeman.

If the CSS withdraws from the LSU, said Trnka yesterday in his address to the congress, the LSU will not cease to exist, nor will it be an appendage of the left-wing grouping, but will remain in the centre of the political spectrum.

Zeman said that the CSSD and parties associated in the LSU have much in common and that this alliance should be strengthened. He warned against joining any of the government coalition parties.

The LSU has 13 seats in the 200-seat Czech Parliament. It supports radical economic reform, but not to the detriment of society's socially vulnerable members: guaranteed social security for youth, sick, pensioners and unemployed seeking work, protected standard of living for the elderly.

KDS Leader: Property Dispute 'Unnecessary'

AU2805122293 Prague CTK in English 1640 GMT
26 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—The emergence and escalation of the dispute over the restitution of church property in the Czech Republic were unnecessary and were caused by a series of misunderstandings, Chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) Vaclav Benda told a press conference today.

After a careful study of the stands of the Executive Council of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) I cannot but state that there exists no serious and clear-cut dispute between the stands of the churches and those of the ODS, Benda said.

A document worked out by the churches and backed by the KDS and the Christian-Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) will be discussed at the forthcoming negotiations between representatives of the church and the government, Benda said.

He considers it absurd to focus on the document's details, as the final wording of the agreement between the government and churches will be a result of compromise.

The document worked out by churches does not challenge the date of February 25, 1948 (when communists seized power in the country) to be the restitutions' starting line,

Benda stressed. It also includes a provision that only the property is to be returned, which will be owned by the state at the time of the law's validity, he added.

This point is a political declaration and it would require legal specification to define the meaning of the words state-owned in the current period of (economic) transformation, Benda pointed out.

If the ODS stand excluded return of the former state property transferred later to communities (since 1989 when communist regime was toppled in Czechoslovakia), this would mean rejection of any property restitution. I believe that this is not the case. I believe that the political declaration will be specified by lawyers, Benda underlined.

Benda dismissed the timing of the individual restitution steps as proposed by the ODS. He is convinced that if the churches are to become economically independent and if the returned property is to serve them, they cannot be expected to live for several months or years, deprived of the state subsidies they have been paid so far, and wait that sometimes in a foreseeable future, they will be given back their ruined property, Benda emphasized.

The timing proposed by the ODS is absurd from the state's point of view as well, Benda said. Returning property to the church with a three or five year delay might seriously block the process of economic transformation in the Czech Republic, he added.

Report on Increasing Numbers of Refugees

AU2805120693 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 25 May 93 p 2

["jem"-signed report: "Protection of Slovakia's Eastern Borders Is Virtually Nonexistent, Claim Refugees"]

[Text] Prague (jem)—The protection of Slovak borders with Hungary and Ukraine is virtually nonexistent, according to the testimonies of refugees detained by the Aliens' Police in the Czech Republic because of their illegal stay here. According to police sources, it is common for human traffickers to take entire bus loads of refugees across Slovakia's eastern borders for 50 German marks [presumably per person]. Talks with Slovak officials on establishing standard border crossings between the two republics are, however, at a deadlock.

Lack of finances forced the Czech Police president in March to abolish the provisional service of the Czech Aliens' Police at Czech-Slovak border crossings. The guarding of the so-called green border was terminated immediately after the completion of currency separation on 10 February this year. The Czech Republic is being flooded by tens of thousands of refugees from the east via both border crossings and the green border.

As a consequence of its very liberal visa policy and the nonexistence of a border with Slovakia, the Czech Republic has become a transit country for approximately 250,000 refugees annually. The number of persons

detained at the Czech-German border for illegal border crossing is increasing by the year. In 1991 the Border Police registered 18,296 attempts to cross the border illegally; in 1992 31,976 attempts, and in the first quarter of this year alone 17,992 attempts.

Germany has substantially tightened the protection of its borders this year. Growing numbers of refugees who have been returned from the FRG to the Czech Republic gather at highway rest stops and railway stations. The Czech Republic lacks both the laws and the accommodation facilities to deal with the situation. The majority of detainees come from Romania, Bulgaria, and the former Yugoslavia. The number of refugees from the Commonwealth of Independent States, China, and Vietnam is also increasing. The number of foreign nationals from the former Soviet Union staying in the Czech Republic without authorization was estimated at 40,000 last year.

Government Approves Credits for Oil Pipeline

AU2805124893 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT
26 May 93

[Text] Prague, May 26 (CTK)—The Czech Government decided today to grant credit guarantees worth seven billion korunas (\$233 million) to a consortium of banks for the construction of an oil pipeline from Ingolstadt, Germany, to the Czech Republic, Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux said today.

The consortium is headed by Ceskoslovenska Obchodni Banka.

At the same time, the government approved 7.8 billion korunas (\$260 million) from the National Property Fund to increase the basic capital of the firm Mero Ikl in Kralupy nad Vltavou, Central Bohemia, which will operate the pipeline.

It also approved allocating 430 million korunas (\$14.3 million) from the state budget for building a central oil storage facility near Kralupy.

Lux said that the Bavarian Parliament had received a bill for consideration which would make possible the purchase of land property along the pipeline route from its owners.

The pipeline from Ingolstadt to Kralupy nad Vltavou and Litvinov will be 340 kilometers long and be able to transport 10 million tonnes of oil yearly.

Army To Start Screening Career Soldiers

AU2705171093 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 26 May 93 p 2

["jem"-signed report: "The Army Will Begin Screening Career Soldiers in June"]

[Text] Prague—The Army will, apparently, begin its special appraisal of career soldiers in June. Deputy Defense Minister Jiri Pospisil will chair the first commission. The three-member commission will screen officers appointed by the president of the Republic. This involves, for example, division commanders. Frantisek Greiner, director of the Personnel Administration, told us this yesterday.

In accordance with an order issued by Defense Minister Antonin Baudys, which came into effect on 17 May, arrangements should be made for screening the aforementioned officers—who are directly subordinate to the defense minister—before 29 May.

So far, it is not known who will sit on the commission with Jiri Pospisil. Vladimir Palan, an official at the Defense Ministry Press Department, said the commission will use personnel records as a starting point for screening the officers. These documents contain an officer's career record and a partial assessment of the work he has done so far. It is also possible to tell from the documents whether the officer concerned took part in preparing an intervention by part of the Army against citizens in 1989 or whether he injured someone as a member of the screening commissions in the 1970's. The personnel record will, according to Palan, act as the main guideline for assessing an officer's moral and professional competence.

Career soldiers' physical prowess will be assessed in several disciplines—a 1-kilometer run, the number of chin-ups and push-ups, and swimming—by the appropriate commission. It will be possible to substitute one of the disciplines, for example, with throwing a cricket ball. Officers who do not perform well in the sports tests and who do not improve within a year will have their salary reduced.

An appraisal of the career soldiers' moral and professional competence—the so-called regular performance review—was conducted in the spring of 1990. Professional and cadre appraisals were conducted in the former Czechoslovak People's Army every two years.

Meciar Comments on IMF Mission

*LD3005194293 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network
in Slovak 1710 GMT 30 May 93*

[Regular Sunday television address by President Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] A pleasant evening, esteemed fellow citizens: It has surely not escaped your attention that an IMF mission is once again on a visit in Slovakia. It is examining the state of the economy, the state of our finances, and the long-term outlook for the Slovak economy both in the current and subsequent periods. The results of IMF missions are of an extraordinary importance. As admission into the Council of Europe is confirmation of the democratic nature of the political system and the observance of civic rights and freedoms, so does the IMF's assessment provide us with an international legal body to judge the health of the economic activity of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

The current mission will be above all collecting facts at the Finance Ministry, the National Bank of the Slovak Republic, and commercial banks. It will be interested in prognoses that are being prepared for the republic's economic policy. According to the agreement reached in Washington, members of the mission have not received any important instructions on what measures they are to approve in Slovakia. The agreement is such that conclusions should be agreed mutually between both sides. It was also agreed that conditions are to be agreed that will be softer, which means conditions that would be in the so-called yellow zone of support where we would be the first post-communist country who would receive assistance in accordance with these criteria. The preliminary proposal of the assistance is \$90 million. This is not, however, a final figure. That figure is merely to confirm the degree of health of our economy.

The IMF at the same time envisaged that because of the lack of knowledge about the state of the Slovak economy different views could emerge. They highly appreciate what has happened in Slovakia following the division of the state. They highly appreciate the nature and flexibility of government's economic policy. [passage omitted]

In principle both sides want to conclude an agreement and this is a positive thing. The degree of the credibility of Slovakia has, in their eyes, grown markedly. This can also be said about their willingness to help. What therefore remains is to reach an agreement on ways of doing so.

We held similar talks with the World Bank. The number of projects, that will be prepared for us, depends on the assessment given by the IMF. [passage omitted]

We have to speak about these questions since it does not create a good impression abroad if we doubt ourselves. It is not only those who do not like us too much either in Prague or in Budapest, but we ourselves that have doubts. It is us, the political parties and their top officials, who still have not overcome provincialism, and

still cannot behave as state officials and put state interest above party interests. [passage omitted]

It is not acceptable that the legitimacy of the government and its foreign policy should again and again be doubted, on every occasion, in public. Especially not in a situation when nobody has any alternative policy. I have carefully studied the policy statements of other political parties. There are some differences between them but not very substantial. Therefore, such serious doubts cannot be cast in the name of those minor differences.

During the past three days I met many citizens in the districts of Povazska Bystrica, Zilina, and Cadca. [passage omitted] The question I was most frequently asked everywhere was about the stability of the situation. They have had enough of political fighting. They have had enough of clashes among leading politicians. There is enough space in Slovakia for everybody who is willing to work in this situation.

In this context I appeal directly to Messrs. Weiss, Cernak, Carnogursky, and Bugar, as well as Duray. It is necessary that representatives look for ways of how to benefit Slovakia, not their ambitions, their party interests. Agreements are close but goodwill is distant. At present there is no chance that we can trump each other, nowadays there are no winners if we fight each other, we can only be defeated. That is why we have to approach these questions in a different way. [passage omitted]

What takes place at some rallies has nothing to do with either democracy or decency and ethics. It is not possible to deny the fundamental principles of cooperation between parties. It is not possible to deny the fundamental necessity of unity as far as state interests are concerned. At a consultative meeting of parties chairmen organized by the president, I clearly defined what such a unity is. However, so far I have not received any support.

As far as the government is concerned, let me tell you some facts. The fact is that we have taken over a country which was in the state of political and economic crisis, and its international political standing was critical. We have solved the fundamental problem of its relationship with the Czech Republic as no one else in the world has done so far. [passage omitted]

I appeal once again to political parties: Try to learn a lesson from our history—how many times we argued among themselves and were not united and how many times we paid dearly for that. [passage omitted] Suppress your ambitions, and make the priorities of our country the priorities of your heart, mind, and program! Thank you.

Moravcik Interviewed Prior to Hungary Trip

*AU2705152093 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 27 May 93 p 8*

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas in Bratislava; date not given: "Slovakia Accepts the Ethnic Minority Proposals of the Council of Europe"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Farkas] Slovakia's role as a bridge between East and West or between North and South is often mentioned in your country. Which direction do you prefer?

[Moravcik] I think that, in this respect, the Slovaks and Hungarians are in a rather similar situation to a certain extent. However, I find it dangerous to develop a bridge role that does not integrate on one side or the other. For us, the importance of full integration into the main political, economic, and security structures in Europe is clear. If we start from this premise, we can hardly speak of a "bridge." However, we are ready to offer our positions in the Eastern markets to strengthen the East-West cooperation. I stress, however, that we want to carry this out as an integral part of the European structures. [passage omitted]

[Farkas] What role do you envisage for the Central European Initiative and the Visegrad [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] cooperation?

[Moravcik] The Central European Initiative is playing a special role in our foreign policy. In our view, this group must be mainly pragmatic and must focus its attention on implementing practical plans. One can consider its expansion, too: For example, Ukraine, Romania, and Bulgaria should also be included as members. In our view, these countries would also fulfill the aforementioned pragmatic requirements. As for Visegrad, in my opinion, it is expedient to maintain this cooperation in its current form; at most, it is worth seriously considering the inclusion of Slovenia in this alliance.

[Farkas] Membership in the Council of Europe is extremely important for Slovakia. At the same time, you were informed in Strasbourg recently about the preconditions connected with the national minority issue, preconditions that Bratislava has to fulfill. How is this process advancing?

[Moravcik] We have declared that we are ready to accept and fulfill all the proposals of the Council of Europe, and we will do this, because we also think that these proposals will contribute to the people living in Slovakia. As you know, in addition to leading the Foreign Ministry, I am also chairman of the government's Committee on National Minority Affairs and, in this double function, I consider it extremely important to participate in working out the European criteria on national minorities. My position as chairman of the aforementioned committee and the experience I gained there provide a lot of help.

[Farkas] Among its neighbors, Slovakia has the most problems with the Czech Republic and Hungary. What is the reason for this, and how do you envisage a solution or at least a gradual improvement in relations?

[Moravcik] In my opinion, our differences of views with Prague are not very important ones, because these differences mainly originate from the division of property, and this debate can be concluded soon. In the Slovak-Czech

relations, we find it essential to maintain the level of cooperation stipulated by a series of intergovernmental treaties and, although it is not yet timely, we could even widen our cooperation in a few years. As for Hungary, I think it is very important politically that we succeeded in reaching an agreement on taking the Bos problem to The Hague, a problem that has been a really sensitive point in our relations. I think we found a way that shows how we can and must solve the other mutual problem, namely the issue of guarantees for national minorities. I intend to discuss this during my upcoming talks with [Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza] Jeszenszky. If I take a close look at it, I do not see any other serious problem in our bilateral relations. We have a common future, and we must solve the aforementioned two problems by starting from this premise, and this could be favorable for both of us in our endeavor to catch up with and join the European structures. [passage omitted]

Meciar Says Cooperation With SNS Possible

LD2805175993 Prague CTK in English 1513 GMT
28 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 28 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has described recent opinions that a government of professionals be formed in Slovakia as folklore, not political reality.

Democratic operations cannot be built on a state bureaucracy, Meciar said today on Slovak radio.

He said that cooperation between his ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), the Democratic Left Party (SDL) and Slovak National Party (SNS) was a consideration. The SDL wants to run the oversight institutions, not have executive power. A coalition of the SNS and HZDS is possible, but the internal question of which principles this coalition would function by would have to be cleared up, he said.

He added that talks between the HZDS and SNS were underway.

The question of obtaining a majority in the Slovak Parliament is still open, he said. Responding to the fact that an HZDS-SNS coalition would not possess a two-thirds majority, Meciar said that today we do not have even a simple majority, but we exist anyway.

Minister Slobodnik on Minorities Rights

AU2805091493 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA
in Slovak 25 May 93 p 2

[Statement by Minister of Culture Dusan Slobodnik broadcast on Radiozurnal radio program on 25 May 1993: "What Happened in Flensburg: On the Margin of the Interpretation (and Propaganda) by the Coexistence Movement of the Status of Minorities in Slovakia"]

[Text] Several days ago, in the northern German city of Flensburg, the 19th Congress of the Federalist Union of the European National Communities ended. The congress of this important organization for the protection of

minority rights was stimulating. Unfortunately, the Coexistence Movement presented a biased document at this congress, which distorted the status of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia.

The document states that non-Slovaks are considered second-class citizens, and that, following the establishment of the Slovak Republic, the situation of the Hungarian minority is—I quote—"even more hopeless." Furthermore, the document distributed to approximately 300 congress participants, claims that Slovakia, as a national state of Slovaks, does not provide any guarantees for maintaining the identity and protection of ethnic minorities and that the Slovak Constitution does not recognize the right of the minorities to establish and run schools in the native languages of the minorities, and, therefore, the existing national schools are in danger of extinction, of being closed down. The epitome of the accusations was the idea that the state authorities wish to establish a national state by means—and I emphasize this—of new ethnic purges.

I joined in the discussion and disputed his facts with those of my own. I pointed out that last year the state supported the publication of 25 Hungarian magazines, two theaters, the Young Hearts [Mlada srdcia] ensemble, and publishing houses that put out Hungarian literature. I recalled that the Ministry of Culture provided 130 million korunas in subsidies to the ethnic minorities, and that Hungarian schools, which account for between 8 and 10 percent of all schools in Slovakia, are adequately supported, that 12 of the 135 senior high schools in Slovakia are Hungarian....

Upon returning home, I was surprised to learn that I was supposed to have reacted to Laszlo Florian's statements indignantly, and that I threatened the two Hungarian deputies. Well, if my statement that my only recourse is to publish the Coexistence document at home is considered "a threat"—I say this in quotes—I accept this claim. (Proceedings of the congress would confirm that there were no threats on my part.)

Slovakia endeavors to maintain fair relations toward the minorities. We cannot, however, identify with statements such as those included by the Coexistence in the document for the Flensburg congress. If, at the congress, I had not refuted the claims made in the document with facts, Slovakia would appear, unlike the reality known to the Slovak and the Hungarian citizens here, as the worst oppressor of minorities in Europe. I repeat, the government has been and always will be interested in honoring all international conventions, and in Slovakia being the home for all its citizens. Moreover, Mr. Gedeon, a representative of the Carpathian Germans, assessed the status of ethnic minorities in Slovakia correctly in his contribution. The fact that the Coexistence grossly misinforms the international public and attempts to discredit Slovakia is even more surprising. Especially as the claims are untruths.

Czech Report on Unguarded Borders Denied

AU2805121093 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak
27 May 93 p 4

[TA SR report: "Fabricated 'Shipments of Refugees'"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Czech mass media have recently repeatedly raised the so-called problem of protection of Slovakia's eastern borders. On Tuesday, 25 May, for example, MLADA FRONTA DNES claimed that, according to refugees detained in the Czech Republic, "the protection of Slovak borders with Hungary and Ukraine is virtually nonexistent."

As Slovak Interior Ministry spokesman Peter Kuchar informed the TA SR yesterday, 672 persons have crossed the state borders of the Slovak Republic without authorization since the beginning of this year, 362 of them to the Slovak Republic and 310 from the Slovak Republic.

The greatest onslaught of refugees was registered in the following border sections—Rusovec-Rajka (Hungarian Republic) with 166 detained persons, Sturovo-Ostrihom (Hungarian Republic) [no figure as published], Skalite-Zwardon (Polish Republic) with 38 persons, Trstena-Chyzne (Polish Republic) with 31 persons, and Siatorska Bukovinka-Salgotarjan (Hungarian Republic) with 20 persons. Most detainees were foreign nationals from Romania (270), Turkey (62), former Yugoslavia (57), and Bulgaria (36) who wanted to get into Germany.

Participation by human traffickers was ascertained in 12 cases since the beginning of the year and legal action has been initiated against four persons.

According to Peter Kuchar, Czech mass media reports about entire bus loads of refugees being "routinely" taken across Slovakia's eastern borders to the West are not only unverified but also false.

Government Accepts Recommendations on Minorities

LD2705131893 Prague CTK in English 1223 GMT
27 May 93

[Text] Budapest, May 27 (CTK)—Slovakia is ready to accept and fulfil all recommendations concerning ethnic minorities set by the Council of Europe as a condition for its joining this organisation, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said in an interview published by the Hungarian daily "NEPSZABADSAG" today.

Moravcik said that Slovakia would meet these conditions as it holds the view that it will serve the interests of its population. Moravcik said that as foreign minister and chairman of the government's committee for ethnic minority questions he considered it very important that Slovakia participate in drawing up European criteria for ethnic minority policy.

He said that the differences in views between Prague and Bratislava were not very significant and that they

stemmed from the problem of solving property division questions. He said that the property dispute between the Czech and Slovak republics could be completed in a short period after which expanded Slovak-Czech cooperation might take place.

Regarding Slovak-Hungarian relations Moravcik said it was very important that the two countries had managed to sign an agreement by which the sensitive problem of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project on the Danube would be submitted to the ruling of the International Court of Justice in The Hague. He said that the second common problem, namely the guarantee of national minorities' rights in Slovakia could be solved in the same way, adding that other significant problems between the two countries did not exist.

Moravcik stressed, however, that the two above mentioned problems needed to be solved in the interest of the two countries' common future. He said that their settlement could contribute to both countries' joining European integration structures.

Part of Nuclear Power Station To Shut Down

AU2805121893 Prague CTK in English 1839 GMT
26 May 93

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia May 26 (CTK)—Two military Universities will be preserved in Slovakia - in Liptovsky Mikulas, Central Slovakia, and in Kosice, the Slovak Defense Ministry's State Secretary Igor Urban said at a meeting at Technical University in Kosice today.

Slovak environment minister Jozef Zlocha said that one bloc of the Jaslovske Bohunice, Western Slovakia, nuclear power plant will be put out of operation. The other two blocs have been considered good by domestic and foreign experts, Zlocha stressed.

The first bloc of the nuclear power plant in Mochovce, West Slovakia, now under construction, is to be put into operation in 1994, Zlocha said.

A suitable location for permanent storage of the Slovak nuclear power plants' waste is currently being sought in cooperation with a French partner, Zlocha said.

Poll Shows Only 15 Percent Favor HZDS

AU2705194293 Prague CTK in English 1444 GMT
25 May 93

[Text] Bratislava, May 25 (CTK)— Only 15 percent of the Slovak citizens favored the ruling movement For a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in April, according to a poll conducted by the Slovak Statistics Office among 1,206 respondents on April 17-28.

The number of the HZDS followers dropped by 5 percent against March. The group of non-partisan people increased to 39 percent.

The Democratic Left Party (SDL) placed second in the preference rating with 15 percent, the Slovak National Party (SNS) trailed behind (9 percent). The citizens' stand towards these parties remained unchanged in comparison with the March poll results.

Slovak President Michal Kovac was the most trusted Slovak politician, having confidence of 22 percent of the country's citizens (29 percent in March); Premier Vladimir Meciar, who also heads the HZDS, followed with 21 percent (27) and SDL chairman Peter Weiss placed third, trusted by 18 percent of those polled (24 percent).

The April poll showed that 46 percent of the Slovaks did not trust any politician, a sharp increase from 23 percent in March.

Fur Returns From Ukraine, Comments on Talks

*LD2805171193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 May 93*

[Text] Defense Minister Lajos Fur has arrived home from Ukraine. He met Prime Minister Kuchma, to whom he expressed his satisfaction with the situation of the Hungarian minority in Ukraine. Levente Suekoed reports from the Toekoel military airfield.

[Suekoed] The two-day visit was successful. An agreement could be reached on the supply of Ukrainian parts for the Hungarian military technology of Soviet origin and, in theory, on military industry cooperation too. The latter is expected to be discussed again during the forthcoming visit of Hungarian Industry Minister Janos Latorcai to Kiev. Concrete agreements can then be expected in this matter, said Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur.

The Hungarian delegation was received by the defense committee of the Ukrainian parliament and Prime Minister Kuchma. At the talks, there was discussion of security policy issues and also Ukrainian President Kravchuk's idea that a new regional security policy grouping should be set up by the states of the region. Similarly to Poland, Hungary also supports this idea, said Lajos Fur. However, according to the Hungarian military leadership, an isolated system is not necessary, but a grouping that can become an organic part of the North Atlantic Consultative Committee of NATO.

Denies Plans To Resign

*LD2805204593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 May 93*

[Text] [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur has firmly denied that he wants to resign his post as minister. Back from his trip to Ukraine, the head of the defense portfolio did not wish to comment on the internal affairs of the Hungarian Democratic Forum nor about the fact that he has resigned his post within the party, the post of executive chairman.

Minister Kadar Receives Iranian Labor Minister

*LD2805163793 Tehran IRNA in English 1619 GMT *
28 May 93*

[Text] Vienna, May 28, IRNA—Iran's Labour Minister Hoseyn Kamali, in Budapest for a 3-day official visit, held talks with Hungarian Minister for International Trade Relations Bela Kadar, Thursday.

Kadar, expressing satisfaction over improved Iran-Hungarian ties said that Hungary considered Iran as the base for Budapest's ties with the Middle East countries.

The Iranian minister, informing Kadar on recent trade reconstruction and also priorities Iran given [as received] to technical and professional training programs, called for a balanced trade relations between the two countries and for increase in non-oil Iranian exports to Hungary.

Also on Thursday, Kamali visited the exhibition of industrial goods, currently set up in Budapest.

Foreign Minister Views Talks With Slovakia

*LD2805203293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 28 May 93*

[Excerpts] The Hungarian-Slovak basic treaty, the status of minorities, and the Gabcikovo issue were on the agenda at the talks between the Slovak and Hungarian foreign ministers in Budapest. Krisztina Hadas reports.

[Hadas] Foreign Ministry spokesman Janos Herman said of the talks, which were held behind closed doors, that Jozef Moravcik said that the minority issue has to be linked to guaranteeing state borders. [passage omitted]

For the time being, it seems that both sides have conditions for the conclusion of the basic treaty. [Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky commented:

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] If legitimate representatives of Hungarians living in Slovakia find that the internal [Slovak] legal system develops in a way that reassures the Hungarian minority about its future, we will certainly be able to conclude a good agreement.

I confirmed at the talks that Slovakia's worries are entirely unfounded. The Slovak foreign minister demanded that Hungary distinctly state that it does not have forceful territorial claims. Well, Hungary has not been doing anything else for three years but expressing it distinctly. During the past three years, not even one voice could be heard in the Hungarian Parliament, in Hungarian society demanding the use of force. [end recording]

[Hadas] After the talks, Jozef Moravcik referred to the fact that the Slovaks are ready to open new border crossing points only after the conclusion of the basic treaty.

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] This would be a very unfortunate condition. It is not a good game if we start to be engaged in saying that we will do something if the other side does something first, say if Hungary says that we will support Slovakia's membership in the Council of Europe if it does this or that. [end recording]

Walesa Announces Dissolution of Parliament

*LD2905112993 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1005 GMT 29 May 93*

[Text] I have received information that we have the words of President Lech Walesa recorded. He informs us about the dissolution of parliament.

[Begin Walesa recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I have at this moment delivered a letter to the prime minister that I do not accept the government's resignation, and that I am making a decision to dissolve the parliament. [end recording]

Sejm Speaker Reads Dissolution Decree

*LD2905122693 Warsaw Fourth Program Radio
Network in Polish 1132 GMT 29 May 93*

[Remarks by Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski in the Sejm—live]

[Excerpts] Ladies and gentlemen, may it please the house: I have been handed a Polish presidential decree dated 29 May 1993 concerning the dissolution of the Polish Sejm. Here it is:

Under Article 4, Paragraph 4 and Article 66, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution dated 17 October 1992, concerning mutual relations between Poland's legislative and executive powers, as well as local self-government, I hereby declare:

Paragraph 1: I am dissolving the Sejm of the Polish Republic elected on 27 October 1992.

Paragraph 2: This decree comes into effect as of the date of its announcement. [applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, may it please the House: I wish to tell you that the decree comes into effect as of the date of its announcement in the official gazette. The Sejm is still working; moreover, it is important that we finish certain matters which are nearing completion. This is a matter which...[interrupted by calls from the floor] Please be serious and keep calm. It is unthinkable that there are people in this Sejm who have not matured to it. We may think that this is a positive phenomenon from the political point of view, but at any rate this is a very serious moment and nobody should have any doubts about it. [passage omitted]

It is difficult to tell when the announcement of this decree will take place. The Senate will meet in the middle of next week. It is ready to take a stance on the third readings we have voted on today. After the break, a list will be presented with matters which the Presidium, having consulted with the Council of Elders, will propose to add to the agenda, which after all is in keeping with today's deliberations of the council. [passage omitted]

Suchocka Remarks on Dissolution

*LD2905132693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1200 GMT 29 May 93*

[Remarks by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka to correspondents before a cabinet meeting on President Lech Walesa's decision to dissolve Parliament in Warsaw on 29 May—recorded]

[Text] I accept the president's decision with all seriousness. It is a result of the situation which arose yesterday. I am convinced—that is, I think—that those deputies who yesterday voted against the government were aware that this kind of decision might be made, because the Constitution clearly says this.

What is left to do at this point? The government is determined to work and must work normally. This is not going to be easy, but we must lead the country through this time until the elections and lead it in a way so that this will happen smoothly and carry things out in a serious and calm atmosphere.

I repeat: The state needs decrees. This Constitution says that the Sejm term expires with the date of the publication of the president's decree, which means that until the day of the elections nobody is allowed to issue laws. This option is possible because the same Constitution provides that the government may have the right to issue decrees with the force of law.

So, I believe in the parliament's responsibility, that it will decide to give the government these powers so that the country is not left without legal instruments for this period only. The time of the government's work is short, until the elections, within the scope in which this will not paralyze the state and will not stop work which has been started. This government really wants those solutions connected with the State Enterprise Pact and negotiated with trade unions to come into force and to become the law. What happened yesterday was at the trade union's request. We do not change an opinion, and we want to see those bills on the Pact through.

President Walesa Addresses Nation

*LD3105190093 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish
1800 GMT 31 May 93*

[Address to the nation by President Lech Walesa on 31 May—recorded]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen: I do not deliver addresses like these that often. There are times when this form of address is indispensable, particularly when the situation calls for careful solutions. I know that my decision to dissolve parliament on 29 May was important. It was not an easy decision. The Sejm of the Third Republic was elected democratically. We pinned great hopes on it. With the majority of Poles, I believed that it would repair the republic, that it would create lasting and strong foundations for the political system, that it would give Poland wise and effective legislation, and that it

would implement a new constitution. This Sejm was to be a creator and a guardian of democracy.

However, politics came to the surface in a politically fragmented Sejm, short-term politics and special interest politics which were often filled with games for the sake of playing games. It threatened the reform program and paralyzed executive power. The president's power was also limited. A tight corset was imposed on the government. The Third Republic's president should be an arbiter and should act above political divisions during times of great democratic change and of difficult political transformation, when responsibility is doubly important.

That is how I tried to act. This is how I acted and will act. The president ought to be the guardian of democracy and ought to help shape it and defend it against threats. It is impossible to decline responsibility for this, especially in the difficult moments of political crises. We are going through such a time now.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Sejm adopted by one vote a few days ago a resolution of no-confidence in the government, a nonconstructive resolution, one not supported by either a personnel or a programmatic proposal. The Sejm expressed more eloquently than ever that the possibilities for creative action in the Sejm had been exhausted. It passed the decision into my hands. I had a limited field of maneuver. The Small Constitution, adopted by this Sejm, specifies my limitations. I made the decision not contrary to but as if at the wish of parliament. This decision was preceded by numerous consultations, including talks with representatives of the Sejm and the Senate, with Hanna Suchocka's cabinet, and with the governing coalition.

Ladies and gentlemen, in accordance with the republic's Constitution, authority belongs to the nation. The president logically addresses the highest authority—namely, the nation—when parliament refuses confidence in the government and itself is unable to specify a new formula for the country's development. That is why I have decided to call new parliamentary elections. Let the nation speak. Let it elect those in whom it has confidence. New elections will give an opportunity for the comparison of the imagination of the authorities with the views, desires, and expectations of people. They will make possible for all of society to speak, not only those who are capable of making use of it every day but also for that silent majority.

The reform work cannot be stopped at the halfway point. We must consistently and stubbornly implement it. The new parliament ought to meet the challenges that await us. It is high time for this. A strategic program of development of the country is indispensable, more decisive activities. A main plan is required for Poland. A new impulse for the reforms is necessary. A reform camp is being born on the Polish political stage. I assure that it will have in me an ally and a consistent implementer and a leader, when the need arises. I presented my New Beginning program during the presidential campaign.

I sent the Sejm the draft of the new constitution which strengthens its executive element while maintaining the three-pronged division of power. Councils which I set up and which are an intellectual backup of my office have prepared programmatic proposals concerning wide areas of the economy, as well as the law, science, and culture, and soon social policy as well.

Ladies and gentlemen, we have a lot to do. We must carry out a quick and just mass privatization; make management and administration work more efficiently; develop local self-government; revitalize the economy; counteract unemployment; build the new social insurance system; take care of the poorest people, especially pensioners; bring to account people involved in economic scandals; and improve the law, which in a democratic state is, one might say, the highest authority. Every aspect of life must be subject to law. We have been amending the old law. Its essence and application have not changed much. That is why the most important task which the new parliament should take on is to pass the constitution. Work on this supreme legal act has only just started. The new parliament, which will begin its activities almost simultaneously after the traditional Sejm holiday recess, will have to complete the task which has been started.

I think that the draft of the Civil Rights and Liberties Charter will constitute a significant part of the new constitution. Thanks to it, we will be learning about freedom and democracy, how to give it shape and defend it. Learning such a lesson is not easy. It has cost us all a lot. We have made many errors, both those who govern and those who are governed.

Ladies and gentlemen, our work is being appreciated and understood in Europe and in the world. I assure our friends that I will continue to make sure that nobody and nothing comes in the way of our reforms. I am sure that Poland is and will be a place of stability in Europe.

Ladies and gentlemen, we face an election campaign. Some people have already started. Others have already taken to the streets. As president of the Republic, I appeal to everyone: Let the campaign be fierce but filled with civic concern, concern about Poland which is and should be the supreme priority. Let it be free from demagoguery, insinuation, and slander. History has seldom given Poles such a great opportunity. Now we have it. Poland is a free and sovereign country. We are making our own decisions about ourselves. Our fate and future depend on us. We will not build anything by complaining or passivity. The future of the Polish home depends on our will and activity.

Let us build it together, with a feeling of shared responsibility. Let us be its masters, responsible and sensible ones. I told you that I will lead the country through the difficult time of reforms. Now, I have undertaken a decision that is a successive opportunity for Poland.

Elect those who will express and confirm anew the direction and speed of the Polish transformations. The decisive voice in these matters returns to you, to the nation. I believe that we will build on strong foundations a solid, prosperous, just, and modern state. It will be a state of which Poles will be proud.

Gazette Makes Dissolution Formal

LD3105182493 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1732 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] The MONITOR POLSKI carrying the president's decree on the dissolution of parliament was published a moment ago. The Government Press Office stated in its comment that there should be no interference with the process of publication of the MONITOR POLSKI to delay or speed up this decision and that there has been no such interference. It arises from the communique that there was no chance anyway that the decrees could be implemented.

Sejm Examines Request for Special Powers

LD2905164793 Warsaw PAP in English 1613 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—The government, whose resignation was Saturday rejected by President Lech Walesa, met at an extraordinary session today and resolved to amend its own bill, now in the Sejm, giving the cabinet the power to issue decrees in certain domains.

The cabinet expects the parliament to examine and pass the bill still during the current sitting and hopes that the Senate will make no amendments, making it possible for the president to promptly sign the bill into law.

The government wants to prevent a complete breakdown of the legislative work in Poland as a result of the presidential decision to dissolve parliament, says a statement issued after today's session by the government press office.

The amended version of the bill gives the cabinet narrower powers than the original draft. According to the head of the government press office Jacek Kozlowski, the cabinet wants to be able to enact 12 laws indispensable for a smooth functioning of the state administration in the coming few months before the parliamentary elections.

In particular, the government would be able to issue decrees implementing the so-called pact on state enterprise, i.e. a package of agreements reached between the government, trade unions and employers associations and concerning the status of state enterprises and their employees during the privatization process.

Moreover, the list of decrees as proposed by the cabinet today includes the creation of institutions to regulate public tenders and procurements, putting the customs administration under the supervision of the finance minister (instead of the minister for foreign economic cooperation), the introduction of equalizing payments on certain food and agricultural imports, the new copyright law designed to

protect owners against piracy, and the postponement of the introduction of the value added tax.

The latter was to come into force next July 5, but, as Jacek Kozlowski explained today, its introduction should not coincide with election campaign.

The government wants the special powers to be valid till the swearing in of the next government.

Speaking to reporters after the cabinet meeting, Kozlowski stressed that the government will make efforts to reach understanding with trade unions, but he also noted that the agreements reached so far make additional talks with the unions unnecessary for the time being.

Coalition Declares Support for Suchocka

LD2905210993 Warsaw PAP in English 2054 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka held a working meeting with leaders of the parties forming the ruling coalition on Saturday, in a move to evaluate the situation following President Walesa's announcement that the Polish Parliament is dissolved.

The party leaders declared their continuing support for the aims and programme of the coalition, the government press office said.

SLD Leader Reacts to Dissolution

LD2905161493 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1320 GMT 29 May 93

[Interview with Aleksander Kwiasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, by reporter Thomasz Lis, in the Sejm building in Warsaw—live]

[Text] [Lis] Mr. deputy, you wanted the government to fall. The Sejm is to be dissolved. Is this exactly what the opposition wanted?

[Kwiasniewski] I think that the most important point is that there is a crisis—political, social, and economic—and we must seek some sort of method to find a way out of it. I think that sustaining a drifting, minority government was very difficult and turned out in practice to be impossible. Early elections are something we have been seeking for some time, not so much because we believed that it would be another magic wand but some chance, perhaps, of finding a way out of this cursed circle of helplessness. They will take place more quickly than we expected but this seems to be the weapon in the political arsenal which had to be used at that moment.

[Lis] That is, you used a weapon which brought about the fact that the drift—to continue the image you used—will now last for four months and not one week.

[Kwasniewski] Well you know a week would be viewing the situation very optimistically. After all, there was the threat of strikes, the government remained a minority one, it did not take any steps to become a government supported by a broader social base. We would have drifted not for four months but perhaps six months or longer. The lack of any political initiative which could have changed this situation brought about the events which we have observed during the past two days.

However, I do not treat this either as a success or as a terrible defeat for anybody. A no-confidence vote, as much as earlier elections, is a normal thing in democracies. The important thing is to draw some useful lessons from this and for the new parliament to be better than the old one. And when this happens I think we will be able to consider what happened in the sejm yesterday and today as a positive thing.

Political Parties React to Dissolution

LD2905175393 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT
29 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 29—President Lech Walesa on Saturday refused to accept the resignation of the Suchocka government, announcing instead his decision to dissolve both the Sejm and the Senate (the lower and upper houses of parliament) and hold fresh elections. He asked Hanna Suchocka to remain in office as interim prime minister, until such time as a new government can be formed after the elections.

This is the first time in Poland's post-war history that a Polish president has taken the decision to dissolve parliament. The decision becomes effective from the day of its publication in the official "MONITOR POLSKI" (POLISH MONITOR) gazette, expected in the next few days.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka accepted the decision, saying that she believed "those deputies who voted against the government must have been aware that such a decision was likely to be taken." She stressed that "the government is determined to work on, and must work normally." She added that she believed that parliament would act responsibly, and empower the government to rule by decrees in the interim period before the election.

Most leading parliamentarians were unsurprised at Walesa's decision. Jan Litynski of the Democratic Union (UD—a pillar of the Suchocka coalition government) said that the president had acted responsibly in doing "that which will guarantee relative stability. This present Sejm is not at this moment capable of approving a new government."

Stefan Niesiolowski, leader of the parliamentary floor group of the Christian National Union (ZCHN), noted that the president had not announced a date for new elections, and was counting on the Sejm to complete some of the legislative work currently in progress. He added that he believed President Walesa would support the government's call for decree powers.

In Niesiolowski's opinion, the situation is catastrophic, since it will not now be possible to take many decisions for which society is waiting.

Andrzej Zarebski of the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL), another leading grouping in the coalition, said that PPL supported the president's decision. Now, the main task would be to ensure stability in the interim period. He added that PPL would support the government's call for decree powers, but believed that majority support for this in parliament would be unlikely.

Marek Markiewicz, head of the National Radio and TV Council and a parliamentary deputy of the Solidarity Trade Union, which sponsored the no-confidence motion, said that the decision had been expected. The president had clearly indicated his belief that parliament was incapable of creating concrete policies claimed Markiewicz.

Aleksander Hall of the Conservative Polish Convention (KP) said that it would be bad if the government lacked decree powers, and hence the possibility of resolving legislative matters in parliament.

Feliks Klimczak of the Peasant Agreement (PL), which left the ruling coalition earlier in May, said that it would have been more sensible to seek a solution in the present parliament, and claimed that this would have been possible, even with Ms. Suchocka as prime minister. He also feared that political situation would be dominated by the forthcoming elections, rather than work on important legislation outstanding, such as the state enterprise pact.

Krzysztof Krol, deputy leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), welcomed the announcement, saying that it would lead to a more stable parliament, where it was clearer "who should govern Poland over the next few years."

Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), said that the SLD parliamentary group had supported the no-confidence motion in the knowledge that such an outcome might be likely. His party colleague Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz said that the dissolution of parliament was the best option for Poland, if the country is to escape from crisis. He added that the left faced the forthcoming elections with confidence, and that he was opposed to the granting of special decree powers to a government "which has lost the confidence of parliament."

Mikolaj Kozakiewicz of the Polish Peasants Party (PSL) described the president's decision as "somewhat suicidal," but said that several groups, including KPN, the left, and possibly PSL, could benefit electorally from present public discontent.

Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the rightist Centre Alliance (PC) and a firm supporter for some time of fresh

elections, said that PC hoped President Walesa would sign the new electoral law, and reconstruct the government in such a manner as to avoid labour unrest. He said that the president's decision had been predictable, since there was no reason for the president to allow the current situation to continue.

Peasant-Christian Party Chairman Remarks

LD3005165193 Warsaw PAP in English 1641 GMT
30 May 93

[Text] Raclawice, May 30—Chairman of the Peasant-Christian Party Jozef Slisz, during the celebration of the peasant holiday in Raclawice, Krakow province, on Sunday stated that the parliament's dissolution was "the result of political in-fighting undertaken by irresponsible forces" whose target was to destruct the state and destabilize Poland's political life.

Slisz appealed to leaders of all political groupings and trade union federations as well as members of these organizations for "a sense of responsibility for the fate of the state, nation and democracy."

Slisz also declared his party's readiness "to go to the polls together with all responsible political forces that are keen on the development of a free market economy and a democracy-based political system in Poland."

Solidarity Leader on No-Confidence Vote

LD2805123993 Warsaw PAP in English 1205 GMT
28 May 93

[Text] Gdansk, May 28—Leader of the Solidarity trade union Marian Krzaklewski told newsmen on Friday that he was satisfied with the Sejm's adoption of the no-confidence motion. "Until the last moment we were ready for talks, open to consensus but the unflexible government stance which lacked imagination induced us to file the no-confidence motion. The Sejm shared our opinion."

According to Krzaklewski, the government's attitude was motivated by political reasons and not by the fact that the solidarity trade union demands proved to be impossible to accept. He added that the latest developments indicated that the Solidarity should be treated seriously and politicians who did not take it into account made a big mistake.

When asked about further union's activities and the possibility of a strike, Krzaklewski said that the same demands would be forwarded to the new government after it is appointed. He said the union will strive to achieve its demands by statutory means but he did not exclude a general strike.

Political Parties React to No-Confidence Vote

LD2805163293 Warsaw PAP in English 1554 GMT
28 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 28—Jacek Merkel of the Polish Liberal Programme (PPL) said after the government lost

no-confidence vote in the Sejm on Friday that "the outcome of the vote shows that Hanna Suchocka is the best candidate for the post of prime minister."

"I doubt anyone else would get so many support votes in this Sejm. I realize that voting for the no-confidence motion is not tantamount to voting for the appointment of a new government. Actually, a few votes are at stake and it will be easier to find them for Suchocka than for anybody else," Merkel claimed.

Jozef Oleksy of the the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), the largest parliamentary caucus, said that "there is no reason why the SLD should be either triumphant and glad or in great despair" over the outcome of the vote. He added that the current political crisis cannot last longer "it is bad, because such confusion apparently destabilizes and spoils the course of changes."

Jan Rulewski of the Solidarity parliamentary caucus, who opposed the decision of the union's national commission to support the no-confidence motion, said that "a house of Solidarity unity which has stabilized the situation in this country has collapsed."

Asked about his scenario of developments after the no-confidence vote, Aleksander Malachowski (Union of Labour) said that either the coalition will propose its candidate for the post or the president will do it. He claimed he was convinced the government would fall. He stated that the problem is whether any of the possible candidates would win the support and be successful in forming a government. He said Hanna Suchocka is one of the potential candidates.

Asked what kind of a cabinet could emerge now, leader of the Centre Alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that there are various options, like the broadening of the coalition with the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) or forming two coalitions who will agree to form an interim government until next general elections. He is of opinion, that it is unlikely that the president will dissolve the Sejm.

Ryszard Czarnecki of the Christian National Union (ZChN) said that Hanna Suchocka will form a new government. He claimed that little will change except the loss of Poland's international prestige achieved during the last year. It might also lose the confidence of foreign investors. He added that Polish reforms will be blocked for a few weeks. "This is the price to be paid for the irresponsible move of the opposition." He called the candidature of Andrzej Ostoja-Owsiany for prime minister as ridiculous.

"Everything is in the hands of the opposition which, I guess, was aware of the consequences of the government's defeat in the no-confidence vote," Andrzej Potocki of the Democratic Union [UD] said.

"Poland has plunged into a political chaos," he said stressing that no personal or programmatic alternative

has been proposed to Ms. Suchocka's reform plan. "Therefore, the UD will not take part in the bargaining and quarrels," he added.

Gabriel Janowski of the Peasant Alliance (PL), the head of the party which had left the coalition a few weeks ago, said that "the vote outcome was predictable."

Solidarity Repeats Threat of General Strike

*LD2905190193 Warsaw PAP in English 1811 GMT
29 May 93*

[Text] Bialystok, May 29—Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski said Saturday that the union will stick to its demands addressed to the government and hold a general strike, as planned, if they are not met.

Speaking on Bialystok radio this afternoon, Krzaklewski admitted he had expected the president to accept the resignation of the cabinet rather than dissolving parliament. "The president did the latter which means that he takes upon himself an enormous responsibility of actually governing the country in the period before the parliamentary elections," Krzaklewski noted.

"The union now realizes that its partner in the coming months will most likely be the same government, and if it continues giving the same kind of response to our postulates as it has done just recently, then the union will stage a well-prepared general strike," Krzaklewski stated.

Trade Agreement Signed With Lebanon

*LD0106142293 Warsaw PAP in English 1302 GMT
1 Jun 93*

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—Poland and Lebanon have signed a free-currency trade agreement following talks the Polish delegation held in Lebanon between May 27 and 30 to increase mutual trade.

Zbigniew Okonski, deputy minister for foreign economic relations, said on Tuesday the near future will see negotiations on further economic agreements between Poland and Lebanon concerning the avoidance of double taxation and the protection of foreign investments.

According to Okonski, Lebanese businessmen showed interest in cooperation with Polish partners and are expected to attend this year's Poznan International Fair to see Poland's trade offer.

Over the recent two years, Poland exported to Lebanon 20 million dollars worth of steel, beef and rams, but recorded no imports.

Former Minister Kiszczak To Stand Trial

*LD2805220293 Warsaw PAP in English 2132 GMT
28 May 93*

[Text] Katowice, May 28—General Czeslaw Kiszczak, Poland's interior minister in 1981 when the then communist authorities imposed martial law, is to stand trial at the Katowice Provincial Court on July 2, on charges of approving orders for riot police to fire on protesting miners at the "Wujek" coal mine in Katowice and the "Manifest Lipcowy" colliery at Jastrzebie in December 1981, Eugeniusz Czora, press spokesman for the court, announced on Friday.

Gen. Kiszczak originally faced charges together with 23 policemen, who fired on miners who had occupied the pits after December 13, 1981 in protest at the imposition of martial law. Nine miners died in the shootings. However, in view of General Kiszczak's poor state of health, the court agreed to hold his trial separately, although it rejected an appeal from Kiszczak's defence counsel for the trial to be transferred to Warsaw.

Justifying the decision, Czora said that it had been made because it was feared Kiszczak's poor state of health would make it impossible to hold the main trial of the police officers, two of whom have been held in custody for thirteen months.

Parliament Session Ends in Altercation

AU2705200193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1448 GMT 27 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/5/1993—The two chambers of the Romanian Parliament discussed in their joint-sitting of Thursday May 27, the draft resolution for the appointment of an investigation committee on corruption. The debate yielded two main choices: To create a special committee or to assign the investigations on corruption to the chambers' standing committees on abuses and petitions.

The debate got overheated in the end of the session due to sharp retorts between senator C.V. Tudor from Greater Romania Party [PRM] and deputies Petre Roman and Traian Basescu from the National Salvation Front [FSN] and Sergiu Cunesu from the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSDR]. The sitting was disturbed by uproar and booing.

After the meeting, a skirmish followed by physical aggressions developed in the lobby between senator C.V. Tudor and his bodyguards on one side and deputies Vasile Bran and Aristide Dragomir from the National Salvation Front, on the other side.

Parties Blame Each Other

AU2805152693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1259 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/5/1993—The National Salvation Front's (FSN) executive committee, the Greater Romania Party's (PRM) steering committee, and the Democratic National Salvation Front's (FDSN) group in the Senate expressed standpoints with respect to the incident that occurred in Romania's parliament Yesterday, May 27, which involved PRM senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor and a group of FSN parliamentarians.

The FSN executive committee released to ROMPRES a communique which reads that "the incident in parliament represents an exceptionally grave antecedent which reminds of the intimidating means employed by the Iron Guardists and the Nazis. Corneliu Vadim Tudor's attitude proves once more that disregard for the elementary standards of social life, incitement to violence, and hatred are the defining traits of his *modus vivendi*."

PRM steering committee issued "a resolute appeal that the acts of political violence be extinguished down to the roots." The PRM statement revealed that senator Tudor "filed a protest with the [parliament's] discipline commission asking that the two FSN deputies' parliamentary immunity be lifted in order to enable senator Tudor to bring them into court." The statement also says that the two [FSN] parliamentarians (Aristide Dragomir and Vasile Bran) were leading the group of FSN deputies who perpetrated verbal and physical injurious offenses against senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor.

The FDSN majority senate group released also a communique which "expresses a firm protest with respect to the hooligan act committed by FSN deputy Aristide Dragomir against senator Corneliu Vadim Tudor, in the lobby of the parliament on May 27. FDSN asked that deputy Aristide Dragomir be discussed in the juridical, discipline, and immunities commission of the chamber of deputies and an urgent investigation of this inconceivable act conducted. Violent manifestations against representatives of the people who express ideas at the parliament tribune come contrary to all the democratic principles and represent at the same time flagrant defiance of Constitution and of Parliament's rules of order," the FDSN communique reads.

FSN's Roman Views Government Plans

AU2805203893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1900 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Today during the proceedings of the extraordinary national convention of the National Salvation Front [FSN], Petre Roman, the president of that party, made a special statement for the press commenting on the statement of a government spokesman, according to which during today's cabinet meeting the government has decided to request the lifting of the parliamentary immunity and, quote, the elimination, unquote, of the FSN leader as a deputy. The government is requesting this because he would have declared that the current cabinet consists of communists and Nazis.

After briefly telling the press about those facts, Petre Roman assessed the allegations as lies. This aberration of the government is intended to intimidate the militant personalities within FSN, to politically intimidate persons who wish to freely express their opinions, Petre Roman asserted, adding that he has never made the statement attributed to him.

The statements I usually make refer to the fact that the current government is supported by a majority that is composed of parties that have their roots in communism, such as the Socialist Party of Labor, and of parties with an obvious extremist-nationalist profile, which—as we have seen yesterday—have a fascist nature [de natura fascizanta]. Both other members of the FSN leadership and I have made such statements several times. Now the government is resorting to antidemocratic political means, such as diversion and lies.

According to our reporter, Petre Roman concluded his statement by pointing out that he does not wish that the importance of that aberration should be exaggerated, because our democracy is still fragile and because there should be politicians who are able to go to the bitter end in defending democracy.

FSN Changes Name to Democratic Party

*AU2905163193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1000 GMT 29 May 93*

[Text] After lengthy debate, the special National Salvation Front [FSN] convention, which yesterday decided on a merger of this political group with the Democratic Party, today decided on the new name of this coalition. By ballot, the delegations decided that the official name will be Democratic Party with the traditional name of FSN placed in parenthesis after the official name used whenever considered necessary. The symbol of this party will be a rose.

The convention then adopted certain amendments to its bylaws.

A few minutes ago, our reporters informed us that the convention adopted an appeal requesting that all political forces take action to isolate rightist or leftist extremist groups, that the presidency and government take the necessary measures to stop the participation of extremist political forces and figures in ruling the country, and that a constructive dialogue with the parties belonging to the opposition be initiated.

Radio, Television Strike Ends

*AU2805201393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network
in Romanian 1900 GMT 28 May 93*

[Text] At 2140 [1840 GMT] the strike committee of the radio and television employees faxed us the following message addressed to the administration board of the Romanian Radio and Television Company:

Considering the tension created by the general strike of the Romanian Radio and Television Company employees among public opinion—which is unaware of the internal problem of our institution—a new strain that came in addition to the already existing social tension, and considering the consequences the strike might have if it is continued over Saturday and Sunday

[29 and 30 May], the strike committee decided to put an end to the general strike. That decision was made today at 2100 [1800 GMT].

According to the same decision normal radio and television programs are to be resumed beginning Sunday, 30 May 1993.

We would like to notify the leadership of the radio and television company and our employees about the following things:

The labor conflict continues; negotiations with the administration board continue; the alternative of resuming the general strike is maintained if negotiations are blocked; the results of the referendum [organized among the employees, favoring the general strike] remain valid.

We hope that the administration board of the Romanian Radio and Television Company and the state institutions will appreciate the decision of the strike committee and will display readiness to cooperate during future negotiations.

The message is signed by the members of the strike committee.

Negritoiu Reports on Visit to Japan, Other Issues

*AU2805110093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0946 GMT 28 May 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/5/1993—The government met on Friday, May 28, to be informed about the May 16-24 visit made in Japan by a government delegation led by Minister of State Misu Negritoiu and a note on the drafting of standard methodology for diagnosis-analyses at a macro-economic level.

Draft normative acts are going to be discussed, including one on the organization and functioning of the physicians' order, another one on the approval of the understanding for the opening in Bucharest of a Balkan Center of cooperation between small- and middle-scale businesses for the Balkans and the Black Sea area.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 1 June
WA0106172293

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

FRY President Cosic dismissed by federal parliament ... Milosevic reportedly encouraging Macedonian President Gligorov to reject stationing of U.S. troops on Serbian-Macedonian border. Macedonian Government rejects UN suggestion for new name ... Krajina, Bosnian Serbs sign cooperation accord ... Bosnian Serbs launch artillery attack on Sarajevo, Gorazde ... Bosnian Croat-Muslim negotiations interrupted by renewed fighting ... Bihac Muslims reject UN "safe haven" status.

POLITICAL

ASSEMBLY DISMISSES COSIC (Belgrade Radio): Charging him with violating the Constitution, FRY Federal Assembly votes to oust President Cosic from office. Assembly deputies from Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party, governing Socialist Party of Serbia cite Cosic "meeting with the military leadership," delay in naming a new prime minister and Constitutional Court judges. Chamber of Republics Speaker Radulovic named interim president. (AU3105203493, LD3106235593)

MONTENEGRINS PROTEST DISMISSAL (TANJUG): Deputies from ruling Montenegrin party (Democratic Party of Socialists), protest Cosic dismissal, saying Cosic's replacement "will shatter the state." People's Party of Montenegro chairman says "toppling" of president has "destroyed the cornerstone of the FRY." (LD0106002593)

MILOSEVIC MEETS WITH GLIGOROV (Belgrade Radio): Macedonian Press Bureau reports that Serbian President Milosevic took "surprise visit" to Macedonia "to persuade" Macedonian President Gligorov "not to accept" U.S. soldiers on border with Serbia. (AU3105174493)

MACEDONIA REJECTS NEW NAME (AFP): Macedonian Government says Vance-Owen proposal to change country's name to "Republic of New Macedonia" is "not acceptable," insisting instead that name remain "the Republic of Macedonia." Macedonia was admitted into the United Nations last month under provisional name of "former Yugoslav Republic of

Macedonia" after Greek protest over the title proposed by Macedonia. (AU3005195393)

SERBS REACH COOPERATION ACCORD (TANJUG): Serbs in Croatian Krajina and Bosnia agree on cooperation accord. Participants in the meeting say "chances" of eventual "unification" are "great," while Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says unification "remains a strategic goal." Krajina assembly to discuss decision to hold "referendum on the unification" of Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia, "other Serbian countries." (LD2905211993, LD0106111293)

MILITARY

INTENSE FIGHTING IN SARAJEVO (Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG): Sarajevo Radio reports Serbian shelling, infantry attacks in Sarajevo killed 31 residents, including 11 participants in soccer tournament on suburban blacktop in Dobrinja. TANJUG says Muslim forces "launched a fierce attack" on Serbian positions on Mount Trebevic but that "30 bodies of killed Muslim saboteurs" were found after attack was repulsed. (LD3105121893, LD3005135693, LD3005173393, AU0106150093)

SERBS ATTACK GORAZDE, (Sarajevo Radio, Zagreb Radio): Sarajevo Radio says Bosnian Serb attack on Gorazde resulting in "systematic killing of 70,000 people," evacuation of civilians "being carried out under impossible conditions." Gorazde District Press Center says "Russian and Romanian mercenaries" fighting on side of Serbs. UNPROFOR spokeswoman in Belgrade reports UNHCR aid convoy en route to town stopped by "Serbian units." (AU0106123693, AU3105114793)

MUSLIMS, CROATS RENEW FIGHTING (Zagreb Radio, Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Croats, Muslims reach "stalemate" in talks, renew fighting. Sarajevo Radio reports "atrocities," "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims by Croats in Mostar "still in progress." Mostar Muslims "appeal" for "energetic and urgent action" by international community "to prevent" "complete annihilation" by Croats. Croatian forces report Muslim attacks near Mostar, Sarajevo, "massacre of civilian population" in Konjic. (LD2905193393, AU0106123893, LD3005185793, LD3105101093, LD3005221693)

BIHAC MUSLIMS REJECT STATUS (AFP): Saying they "do not want to be dumped into Indian reservations," Muslim authorities in Bihac reject status as UN "safe haven," vow to defend the town against Bosnian Serb forces. (AU3005155893)

BOSNIAN ARMY AMBUSHES ITALIANS (Rome TV): UN military sources report three Italian members of humanitarian organization were "killed by men of the Bosnian Army" while delivering food in central Bosnia. (LD3105204193)

Report on Bosnian Fighting, Casualties

*AU3005192393 Paris AFP in English 1856 GMT
30 May 93*

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, May 30 (AFP)—Serb artillery gunners hammered Sarajevo Sunday, killing at least 20 people and wounding more than 170, according to Radio Sarajevo.

Other Serb forces were reported to be continuing a heavy attack against the eastern Moslem enclave of Gorazde, and Moslem and Croat soldiers were reported to be fighting fiercely in the southern city of Mostar, and in the towns of Jablanica and Konjic, between Mostar and Sarajevo.

The nationalist Serb forces unleashed an intense mortar and artillery barrage on Sarajevo with an initial round of machine-gun fire on front-line positions in the capital and on Trebevic hill, just south, at 4:20 a.m. (0220 GMT). Fierce shooting lasted until 5:00 a.m. between entrenched infantry positions.

The Serb shelling spread out during the day to include residential areas of the city, and the shelling, as well as sniper fire, was continuing at 7:00 p.m.

Civilian dead and wounded included people hit by shrapnel in their apartments.

Sarajevo firemen were working on five fires and smaller blazes were being handled by private citizens.

A doctor at the state hospital who asked to be identified only as Goran said his hospital was getting patients from all over Sarajevo instead of just the west-to-central part, as normal. He and other residents said the shelling was among the worst since the start of the siege in April last year.

At Kosevo hospital, a Bosnian commander with men on Trebevic hill said his unit had 20 dead, 14 missing and 48 wounded. He said his men were having trouble holding positions because the shelling from the Serbs was "too strong."

Kosevo hospital had at 5:30 p.m. 15 dead—11 civilians, including one child, and four soldiers. Doctors there had earlier reported 88 wounded from the shelling, but at least 10 wounded soldiers were seen coming to Kosevo in the early evening.

Commanders who accompanied them sat under a tree outside the hospital looking distraught as they consulted with their units.

A wounded soldier from the Trebevic front told AFP the machine gun attacks Sunday morning were by the Serbs.

Tikret Sulejmanovic, 36, said the Serbs had been attacking for the past two days and that a Bosnian assault Friday was a counter-attack to the Serb moves.

Serbs have forbidden U.N. observers to enter Gorazde to verify reports of fighting since they claim U.N. forces have not fulfilled promises to de-militarize another haven, the eastern town of Srebrenica.

Radio operators in Gorazde said several villages in the area were on fire. "Many dead and wounded are lying on the streets and nobody can help them because of the intensity of the shelling," one operator said.

They said Gorazde authorities appealed to the U.N. commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina, French General Philippe Morillon, to send military observers to the town.

Gorazde, 50 kilometres (30 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, is home to some 70,000 people, one of the last remaining Moslem areas in eastern Bosnia.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer told reporters that UNPROFOR was unable to confirm the reports since it could not under its present mandate move military observers in without the approval of the warring parties.

The Serbs have advanced since April in eastern and northern Bosnia, key regions for their goal of linking the republic of Serbia with Serb-held territory in Bosnia and Bosnia's western neighbor Croatia.

Radio Sarajevo also reported heavy Serb shelling of the northern town of Maglaj and the central town of Olovo.

There was also fighting reported Sunday in the northern towns of Maglaj and Brcko.

It said in the evening that the attack on Gorazde was continuing, and that the hospital there was full.

Croatian radio said Mostar, Jablanica and Konjic were the scene of Moslem artillery and infantry attacks and sniper fire.

Sarajevo radio said Bosnian Croat forces pounded Moslem positions in those towns with artillery and anti-aircraft guns, "firing at everything that moves."

One child was killed and three people wounded in a Croat attack on Mostar, the radio added. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Blames Muslims for Escalation in Fighting

*AU3005191093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 May 93*

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, a general Muslim offensive on all defensive positions of the Serbian Army is under way.

[Karadzic] Yes, this offensive in fact represents the violation of the cease-fire agreement signed by General Mladic and Halilovic [commander of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. The violation represents the realization of Izetbegovic's general call for a war against Serbs and the rejection of the agreement reached by the five ministers in Washington.

The international community should now understand that the war that is being waged here is not for the division of Bosnia, because Bosnia is already divided, but for the Muslim domination of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The international community should stop this.

The Muslims are starting fighting everywhere, but then when they fail they accuse Serbs of launching offensives, that is, counteroffensives. This is what happened in Trebevic, and in Sarajevo, yesterday and today. This is what has been happening every day in Ilijas. Ilidza is being bombarded every day. Doboj was bombarded. The Serbian lines came under attack. They captured several of our villages near Maglaj. They burned Krsno Selo, a large village, to the ground. Finally, in the Gorazde area, they are trying to take Visegrad and link Gorazde and Zepa with Srebrenica.

We will not allow them to achieve any military successes. We will not start any military operations, but we will have to stop them. We will ask the international community to determine who is violating the cease-fire.

Muslims Staging 'All-Out' Offensives

LD3005212093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1938 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 30 May (TANJUG)—The General Headquarters of the Serb republic's army sent a letter this evening to UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] commands in Zagreb and Kiseljak, informing them that "Muslim forces on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina launched an all-out offensive in several directions on the night of 29 May to 30 May, 1993, against positions held by the Serb republic's army and on Serb-controlled territory, which continued today as well."

It is stressed in the letter—also forwarded to TANJUG—that particularly strong offensive action has been registered in the regions of Majevica, Brcko, Doboj, Ozren, Sarajevo, the southern foothills of Mount Jahorina, and Visegrad.

"They are attacking with all available arms and with strong forces. The Serb republic army's defense lines were most threatened in the Sarajevo region and on the southern slopes of Mount Jahorina. Our forces were compelled to respond adequately to the attacks. Due to the flagrant violation of the signed cease-fire agreement and extremely deceitful conduct on the part of the Muslim forces, the army of the Serb republic suffered a casualty toll of seven dead fighters and another 29 wounded during the past 24 hours."

This is, as is claimed, the most flagrant violation thus far of the cease-fire signed on 8 May between the commander of the Serb republic army and the commander of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, with your mediation.

"It is obvious that the Muslim military and political leadership, headed by Alija Izetbegovic, does not care for any kind of peaceful solution to the crisis in the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been confirmed by Alija himself in many of his public statements and calls on Muslims to persist in the war until the end, stressing that they should not waste time on negotiations. This tendency has been particularly noticeable in the Muslim leadership since the plan by the five foreign ministers for solving the crisis in this region was revealed, a plan that they completely reject."

"Esteemed gentlemen, the leadership and the Serb republic army are truly interested, as you yourselves are, in peace, which is the mandate of your mission. In the interest of peace, we are sharply protesting because of the flagrant cease-fire violations by Muslim forces, and we are demanding that you take resolute measures against their leadership to halt the offensive activities and bring about a return to the peace process," the letter by the Serb republic army to UNPROFOR's command stresses.

Muslims Violating Cease-Fire in Northern Bosnia

LD0106121193 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1128 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Doboj, June 1 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces in northern Bosnia continue violating a ceasefire in the broader area around Doboj, with strong attacks on Serb positions around Teslic, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Tuesday.

On the Teslic front, Moslems opened strong fire on Bosnian Serb positions from all available weapons.

Moslem units on the Doboj front on several occasions opened mortar fire on Bosnian Serb positions, and the Serb side was forced to return fire.

It was quiet on Tuesday in the Bratunac area in eastern Bosnia, unlike the region of Zvornik—north of Bratunac, where Moslem violations of truce were reported.

Serb military sources said Moslem units on Tuesday morning resumed mortar attacks on Serb villages in the Zvornik area, which they had launched in the night from Monday to Tuesday.

Fierce Moslem offensive towards Kalinovik and Foca in northern Herzegovina has so far remained without results because the Serb side managed to preserve their defence lines, the information service of the Bosnian Serb Army's Herzegovina Corps said.

Fighting in these directions abated on Monday night, with sporadic clashes reported early Tuesday morning.

Moslem terrorist-sabotage groups have on several occasions tried to infiltrate to these areas, but were prevented in time.

Battle Intensifies in Sarajevo: 20 Killed

LD3005173393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 May 93

[Excerpt] Let us hear a report received from the information service of the 1st Corps [of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army]:

[Reporter] After the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army repulsed two infantry attacks on the slopes of Trebevic at around 0430 and 0600 this morning, the enemy engaged in relentless shelling of the Sarajevo city quarters. The gory result of the shelling today is 20 killed and over 170 citizens injured, some seriously. [passage omitted]

Mortars Kill 11 on Football Field

AU0106113893 Paris AFP in English 1117 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Sarajevo, June 1 (AFP)—Eleven people, four of them children, were killed in the Dobrinja suburb of Serb-besieged Sarajevo when two mortars fell on an improvised football field, doctors at Dobrinja hospital said.

There were 40 wounded at the hospital, doctors said.

Sarajevo radio said the incident occurred at about 10:30 a.m. (0830 GMT).

An AFP photographer at the scene said the asphalt square where the slaughter occurred was full of blood with the football lying in the middle.

People watching the match had emptied the square to return to their homes and were peering out their windows at the scene. Tuesday was the Moslem Bajram holiday, and the mainly Moslem population of Dobrinja was taking the day off from work and school.

The AFP photographer said that at the hospital he saw people lined up to give blood. These people included Serbs, Croats and Moslems, the three main ethnic groups of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Dobrinja, southwest of Sarajevo near the airport, is one of the most fiercely fought-over regions of the capital and its outskirts.

It contains blocks of houses where in some areas buildings held by Serb forces alternate with those held by the mainly Moslem army defending Sarajevo.

Muslims Launch Attack

LD3005135693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 30 (TANJUG)—Moslem troops launched a fierce attack with heavy infantry weapons on

Bosnian Serb positions on Mount Trebevic south of Sarajevo on Sunday at 04:30 local time (02:30 GMT).

The attack escalated into fierce fighting with the use of all available weapons including grenades and hand-held rocket launchers.

Mortars joined in the fighting, shelling the Jewish cemetery and Vrbanja on the outskirts of the city on the one side, and Debelo Brdo on the other.

After 45 minutes of hand-to-hand fighting in the midst of an ear-shattering din, the attack was repulsed, but after an hour of calm another Moslem attack followed at a different location, TANJUG's correspondent has reported.

A woman was blown to pieces by shell fragments and several people were wounded when Moslem troops launched a fierce artillery attack on the Serb-controlled community of Vraca around 06:30 local time (04:30 GMT). From their strongholds on the hills of Hum and Mojnilo, Moslems opened howitzer fire using shells of the biggest calibre, and over ten of them hit Vraca, causing major damage to residential buildings.

The populations of the Serb-populated communities of Grbavica and Vraca in Sarajevo, which have for days been the target of Moslem artillery attacks, on Sunday again took cover in shelters.

Sporadic artillery exchanges are taking place in Sarajevo in the early afternoon hours.

This is so far the biggest violation of the ceasefire between the Moslems and Serbs in the war-torn former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina which became effective on May 9.

The Moslems have been steadily stepping up their offensive activities since their leader Alija Izetbegovic's call a week ago for unrestrained warfare, after he expressed dissatisfaction with the latest plan for ending the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict adopted in Washington by the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Spain.

Serbs Launch Artillery Attack

LD3005072993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Chetniks launched a fierce artillery attack on the Sarajevo defense lines from all their strongholds at 0420 this morning.

The situation is particularly serious along the line stretching from (?Vrbanja Most), [words indistinct], the Jewish Cemetery, Zlatiste, Velika, and Mala Colina (?Kata), which was attacked with tank, howitzer, and mortar shells from Mrkonjic, Trebevic, [word indistinct], Gornji (?Biocki) and Donji (?Biocki).

The Stari Grad public security station reported intensified shelling of Sedrenik, Hrid, (?Arcebol), and Sirokaca. Several shells were also fired on the Brijesce area [western Sarajevo].

Due to the exceptionally grave security situation in the city, citizens are warned to take maximum precautionary measures.

'Relentless' Shelling; 76 Injured

LD3005134593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Since early this morning, the capital of our country has been subjected to relentless shelling from Chetnik positions. The Serbian aggressor has been pounding the entire city with all types of artillery weapon.

According to available information, the situation is most serious in the municipalities of Stari Grad and center. Hospitals are full, and doctors have a great deal on their hands. From an on-duty doctor we have learned that 76 injured persons had been admitted to Sarajevo hospitals by the early afternoon.

Gorazde Under Attack; 15 Villages Razed

LD2905203193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 29 May 93

[Report from Gorazde by correspondent Fahrudin Becic]

[Text] The strongest enemy offensive on the Gorazde area so far is continuing. The Chetniks are receiving reinforcements from all directions and dozens of tanks, self-propelled cannons, howitzers, and mortars are destroying everything within their reach. Many people have been killed and many more wounded. It is very difficult to help the wounded, mainly civilians, and evacuate them from the combat zone. The defense line has been breached from the direction of Rogatica and 15 Muslim villages have been razed. Superhuman battles are in progress near the village of Ustipraca.

As we are filing this report, at about 2100, hundreds of shells are being fired on this village. The evacuation of several thousand civilians [from Ustipraca] is taking place under a shower of shells. We do not know what will happen by the time we file our next report.

UNHCR Convoys Stopped

LD0106125893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1205 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesperson in Belgrade, (Wendel Sachs), stated that Serb units stopped two UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] humanitarian convoys that were to deliver aid to Srebrenica and Gorazde. The convoy heading for Gorazde was stopped due to heavy fighting being waged in its vicinity, while the reasons for the other convoy destined for Srebrenica being stopped were not given.

Dozens of Serbs, 11 Muslims Killed

LD3005181493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] The enemy is using Muslims from Bosnian Krajina as a human shield in their attacks [passage indistinct]. Courageous members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Eastern Bosnia operational group are responding to the attacks of the superior enemy. Dozens of Chetniks have been killed in fierce hand-to-hand combat. Eleven Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers have been killed and 34 have been wounded. Gorazde hospital is crowded with wounded civilians and soldiers. There is no more room in the hospital and the scene is horrifying.

UN Military Observers En Route

AU3105102093 Paris AFP in English 1010 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 31 (AFP)—U.N. military observers are on their way to the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, a U.N. spokesman reported Monday.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer said a five-man team of observers had left Sarajevo at 6:00 a.m. (0400 GMT). Mid-morning, they were in Pale, the Serb stronghold 15 kilometres (nine miles) southeast of Sarajevo.

They were to proceed from there to Gorazde, 50 kilometres (30 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, but Frewer, a Canadian naval commander, said he did not know "if they're being detained or delayed or just checking in" in Pale. He said the Bosnian Serb chief of staff had given permission Sunday for the observer mission.

Heavy attacks by Serb forces were reported by Sarajevo radio to be continuing Monday in Gorazde.

Ham radio operators in Gorazde, speaking on tapes run on Sarajevo radio, said Sunday that several villages in the area were on fire. "Many dead and wounded are lying on the streets and nobody can help them because of the intensity of the shelling," one radio operator said.

They said Gorazde authorities had appealed to U.N. commander for Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, to send military observers.

Gorazde is home to some 70,000 people, one of the last remaining Moslem areas in eastern Bosnia.

Frewer told reporters Sunday that UNPROFOR had not been able to confirm the reports since it could not under its present mandate move military observers (UNMOs) in without the approval of the warring parties.

Since the United Nations made Gorazde a safe haven on May 6 UNPROFOR had already tried three times, without success "to deploy UNMOs to the area," Frewer said.

The Serbs have advanced since April in eastern and northern Bosnia, key regions for their goal of linking Serbia in the east with Serb-held territory in western Bosnia and Bosnia's western neighbor Croatia.

Serbs Stop UN Observers

AU3105161693 Paris AFP in English 1600 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo, May 31 (AFP)—U.N. military observers were stopped Monday [31 May] by Serb authorities from traveling to the Serb-besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, a U.N. spokesman said in Sarajevo.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer said the five-man team of observers were stopped in Pale, the Serb stronghold 15 kilometres (nine miles) southeast of Sarajevo.

Serb officials demanded written authorization from Bosnian Serb Army Chief of Staff Manojlo Milovanovic despite Milovanovic having given verbal agreement to the UNPROFOR on Sunday [30 May], Frewer told AFP.

He said the observers would return to Sarajevo Monday and try Tuesday [1 June] to reach Gorazde.

"We will press to get there tomorrow (Tuesday)," Frewer said, adding that negotiations with the Serbs were taking place. He said Serbs in Pale had said they expected the U.N. observers could be in Gorazde by Thursday [3 June] "and we said that was not soon enough."

Serb forces have since Friday [28 May] been attacking Gorazde, 50 kilometres (30 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, one of the last Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia.

Gorazde is one of six U.N.-declared safe areas but Serbs have blocked U.N. officials from traveling there since they claim UNPROFOR has not de-militarized another safe area, Srebrenica.

Gorazde is the only safe area where there are no U.N. officials.

'Over 10,000 Shells' Have Landed

AU3105184793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] The Chetniks are still fiercely attacking the Gorazde region. It is particularly bad around Ustipraca, while Medjedja is in flames. Over 10,000 shells have landed on this region just today.

HVO Using 'Medieval Methods'

AU0106123693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 1 June carries in its regular 22-minute newscast several reports on intensified fighting in the Republic.

From Gorazde, Fahrudin Bekic reports that "the Chetniks are intensifying their attacks. The evacuation of civilians is being carried out in impossible conditions, while several thousand people are still completely surrounded." Further on, the correspondent says that "everywhere you can hear the moans and screams of the [word indistinct], since there is no longer any place where they can be taken care of, and there is no one to help them. This is the worst night in the history of this people, a night which [words indistinct] saw the [word indistinct] of the systematic killing of 70,000 people before my eyes." The correspondent adds that "the defenders are investing superhuman strength to try and resist the attacks on [name indistinct]." [passage omitted]

Reporting from Mostar, an unidentified reporter says that "from the occupied parts of Mostar, controlled by the HVO, there is dramatic information that the ethnic cleansing is still in progress, as are the most cruel forms of torture to which members of the Muslim people are exposed to. [Words indistinct] Internal Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the command of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 4th Corps command have authentic testimonies of the atrocities, of the liquidation of prominent Muslim citizens of Mostar, of the taking away of whole families in an unknown direction. There is no information about most of the captured members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army." Further on he says that "the HVO is still not allowing water to be supplied to the left bank of the city, nor the deblockade of roadways to allow supplies through, obviously using medieval methods to achieve that which they cannot achieve in the military realm."

Serb Attacks at Majevisa Reported

AU3105114793

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 31 May in its regular 21-minute newscast carries several reports on the fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Gorazde District Press Center reports that "as of this morning, Chetniks intensified their activity against Gorazde, particularly at Ustipraca-Medjedja line. Two more villages, Orahovci and [name indistinct] in the commune of (?Visegrad) were burned down yesterday. Many civilians were killed in these villages, but we do not have exact numbers as it is impossible to reach the ruined and burned houses due to constant shelling of this territory." "We are told that Chetniks are invading the free territory of the Rudo Commune, too. We have received reports from the East Bosnian Operation Group

of the army of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina stationed in Gorazde that the defense lines of the First [name indistinct] Shock Brigade are being shelled from the direction of Pale and [name indistinct]."

Finally, the report says that "we are going to supply proof today that there are Russian and Romanian mercenaries in the aggressor's ranks."

A studio announcer cites Hajrudin Sermic as reporting from Maglaj that "the situation in this town is still difficult." Sermic's report follows but is mostly indistinct.

A studio announcer says that "relative peace has been reigning in the Kladanj battlefield for the last 24 hours. There have been some usual provocations from anti-aircraft weapons, but the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina failed to respond."

Enes Osmancevic reports from Majevica about "more intensive Chetnik provocations on the Majevica battlefield. Chetniks occasionally launch mortar bombs at the outskirts of the Tuzla Commune. Our fighters failed to respond. As I report, it is calm in Lukavac, even in the Turija [word indistinct] which was exposed to Chetnik artillery and mortars from Vukovo Brdo and [name indistinct] last night."

The Mostar Press Center reports that "during the entire day yesterday and last night, weapons were constantly heard at the line of separation between the units of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Croatian Defense Council. Apart from light infantry weapons, Croatian fighters also used portable rocket launchers of the Osa and Zolja types and anti-aircraft machine guns and anti-aircraft guns. Several mortar bombs were also launched at the positions of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the residential blocs on the left river bank."

Kemal Halilhodzic reports from Bugojno about "tensions having (?visibly) abated in Bugojno during the last two days, because the military formations commands found the way to control the individuals who were the main perpetrators in increasing tension in the town. A joint meeting of representatives of military units and communal authorities of Bugojno, Donji Vakuf, Gornji Vakuf, and Novi Travnik was held last Saturday [29 May]."

Hand-to-Hand Fighting Reported

*LD3005141893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 May 93*

[Text] Gorazde is still the largest battlefield in our republic, although the situation is no less serious on other fronts, above all in Maglaj, Tesanj, and Brcko. The situation is still abnormal in the Gorazde area, as Mustafa Hejdarevic reports from the war presidency (?for this area). The enemy is attacking from every direction with all available means and the latest weapons and technology.

[Hejdarevic] The situation is especially difficult on defense lines held by the First Rogatica and the famous

First Visegrad Brigades. After harassing [words indistinct] in 17 villages in the Rogatica municipality, Chetniks are opening fierce artillery fire on the defenders of Rogatica [north of Gorazde], Ustripaca, and Medjedja [both east of Gorazde on the road to Visegrad]. Our soldiers are putting up a heroic resistance and are not allowing Chetniks to move defense lines.

While I am reporting this, I am receiving information from battlefields that hand-to-hand fighting is under way in the zone of responsibility of the First Rogatica and the famous First Visegrad Brigades. Our heroes are gloriously inflicting losses on the aggressor and are saying they will persevere until the end.

Russian, Romanian Mercenaries Involved

*LD3005111693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 May 93*

[Text] Gorazde has been a target of the fiercest enemy attacks again today, but the situation is not at all easy in the areas of Maglaj and Tesanj either.

We have been informed by the news center of the Gorazde war presidency that the aggressor's offensive against the free territory of this town continues unabated. Yesterday alone, Chetniks set fire to 17 villages in the area of Rogatica municipality. A report received this morning speaks about a fresh massacre perpetrated by Chetniks: burned bodies of women, children, and elderly people who could not escape are a horrific sight.

According to details obtained by our intelligence bodies, members of the former Yugoslav People's Army, Russian, and Romanian mercenaries are also taking part in the attack on Gorazde; this can clearly be seen from the documents found on killed soldiers.

According to another report received this morning from Medjedja and Ustiprca [villages between Gorazde and Visegrad], a number of villages there are also burning. The enemy is opening fire from several types of weapons, and there have been scores of civilian casualties.

Serbs Repel Muslim Attack in Brcko Area

*LD3105155293 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske
Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT
31 May 93*

[Text] There is no peace on the Brcko battlefield. After an all-out attack on the Grbavica area yesterday, Muslims today launched an offensive from the direction of Vranovaca, six kilometers south of Brcko. They were beaten back to their initial positions after a two-hour battle. We have not received any reports about Serb casualties.

Shell explosions and sporadic bursts of fire have been heard from the front line since 0800 this morning when

the attack was repelled. It is clear that the Jihad soldiers cannot accept yet another defeat.

Attacks on Brcko, Olovo Reported; Calm in Sarajevo

AU3105095393

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 31 May in its regular 11-minute newscast carries several reports about the fighting in the republic.

A report from Brcko by Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salihovic says that the "Chetnik offensive on the free Brcko territory continues unabated. After he had been rejected from Lipovac where he had suffered great losses, the aggressor madly shelled the Brcko defense lines with all available weapons during the entire yesterday afternoon and last night. A new attempt at an infantry breakthrough followed at about 1900 [1700 GMT] in the region on Lucici. The Chetniks were rejected again without any losses suffered in our ranks. A new concentration of enemy forces was noticed in the same sector of the battlefield at 0500 this morning."

Further on the report says that "in the early morning hours," "with strong artillery support, the aggressor was fiercely attacking along the Dizdarska-Omerbegovaca line." The report says that "as of 0600 this morning, Serbian barbarians have been launching dozens of destructive and lethal shells on the entire free Brcko territory from their known strongholds in (?Radjevo) and Pelagicevo."

The Information Center of the Gradacac Commune War Presidency says that "last night, Chetnik helicopters flew over the occupied sections of Bosnian Posavina. The total of 18 flights have been registered in both directions along the line of Brcko-Bosanski Samac, as well as Duge Njive-Modrica. The flights went on between 2130 and 0000. At the same time, [words indistinct] there were some infantry provocations at almost all sections of the battlefield." Further on, the report says that, as there have been "almost no combat activities on the Gradacac battlefield, the defense lines are under full control of our fighters."

The Olovo Press Center reports about "today's artillery attacks on Olovo," saying that "(?this morning), Chetnik artillery started madly shelling the wider region of the town and the positions of the Olovo defenders. [Words indistinct] from the region of [name indistinct] with tanks, 120-mm mortars, and 155-mm howitzers are attacking this suffering town."

A studio announcer says that "according to the Bosna Operation Group, a 122-mm shell cannonade suddenly poured onto Zavidovici at about noon. There have been no casualties, and the material damage is great. The citizens of the Zavidovici free territory had not been leaving shelters for days. During last night, the aggressor intensified his activity at the Rujnica battlefield using mortars, portable rocket launchers, and splinter ammunition."

A studio announcer cites the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as saying that "the aggressor has continued violating the ban on flying over Bosnia-Herzegovina, and six overflights were registered along the Brcko-Pelagicevo line, as well as several groups of helicopters along the Krepsic-Brcko-Krepsic and Bijeljina-Grbavica Village lines. Helicopters were also noticed in the zone covered by the Doboj South Operation Group—they flew from Ozren toward Doboj and [name indistinct]."

A studio announcer says that "there is no shelling in Sarajevo today" and that "according to the public security stations, the aggressor acts only occasionally from infantry weapons and an anti-aircraft gun at the outskirts of the Stari Grad Commune. In the Centar Commune, enemy snipers act at the (?Kranjcevic) Street and Trscanska Street. It is mostly calm in other parts of the city."

A studio announcer says that the "Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina possesses information that the aggressor plans to fiercely shell Sarajevo tomorrow, on the Muslim religious holiday [Kurban Bajram]. Considering the experience so far, one should attach extreme significance to this report, so citizens are called upon to take all measures of attention and protection tomorrow and during the days to follow."

A studio announcer says that "due to breakdown along the electric power lines between Buca Potok and (?Regel) there is no electricity in Sarajevo" and that "because electricity is down, there are also problems with supplying the city with water."

Muslims Score 'Successes' in Maglaj, Teslic

LD2905111493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 May 93

[Excerpts] Our combatants have scored fresh successes in the free areas of Tesanj, Maglaj, Doboj, and Teslic. The Teslic free area has been extended by more than 10 square kilometers. Following a fiasco of numerous fierce attacks by the aggressor, strategically important territories toward occupied Teslic have been liberated in well organized counterattacks. Hill 321, the village of (Bugarinovici), and Hill 318 near the village of [name indistinct] have been taken. The taking of the Chetnik strongholds on the [word indistinct] hill, in Sijekovac and [word indistinct] are counted among the greatest successes. Banja Luka itself is no longer far away. [passage omitted]

A B-1 mountain cannon, large amounts of weapons, and other expensive material have been captured. One tank and a mountain cannon have been destroyed. More than 50 Chetniks have been killed.

The defenders of Maglaj have also achieved heroic deeds. The Muslim villages of Jusufi, Praviste, and Cvjetno Polje have been liberated along the River Bosna toward Zavidovici. The front facing the enemy has been moved by four kilometers.

All civilian settlements in the Tesanj and Maglaj areas are being targeted in retaliation. There are many civilian casualties. [passage omitted]

According to confirmed information, the remaining Muslim and Croat population in Teslic is being held at the football stadium and is being subjected to horrifying atrocities. [passage omitted]

We are again calling on UNPROFOR units to enter the town of Maglaj and prevent further rampage, destruction, and civilian suffering.

[Signed] The Information Center of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army II Corps' 7th South Operational Group.

Grenades 'Raining'

LD3005110693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 30 May 93

[Report by Hajrudin Cermic from the Maglaj municipality press center]

[Text] The unprecedented suffering of civilians in Maglaj is in its fourth consecutive day, and material destruction can no longer be estimated.

The day started with destruction and killing: 155-mm howitzer shells, tank, cannon, and mortar grenades have been raining on the very heart of the town, [words indistinct] since 0430 this morning. There are casualties among the civilian population, but their precise number has not been determined. Material damage is huge. The population is totally exhausted and helpless to a critical degree.

Defenders' positions also came under attack in the areas of (Plana) and (Stari Grad), but our heroes have repelled all attacks, showing our citizens that they can feel safe. The defense lines are stable.

'Tragic Plight' of Serbs in Tuzla

LD3105161193 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1557 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—The 15,000 Bosnian Serbs still remaining in Moslem-held Tuzla, central Bosnia-Herzegovina, are living in conditions of abject poverty and terror, says the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA.

SRNA quotes testimonies by Serbs who have managed to elude the Moslems keeping them virtual prisoners in the town.

Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic, dissatisfied with the joint action plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina agreed upon by the foreign ministers of the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France and Spain in Washington a week ago, invited his loyalists to an all-out war against the other two nations living in Bosnia—Serbs and Croats.

The monthly rations of the Bosnian Serbs held up in Tuzla amount to barely half a litre of oil, half a kilo of sugar, 300 grams of salt, half a kilo of rice and 300 grams of detergent.

They are not allowed to leave the town or receive parcels. Their only source of relief aid is the Serb humanitarian organisation Dobrotvor, which is unable to supply even the minimum requirements of food and medicine.

On the other hand, the Moslems in Tuzla receive aid from more than 21 humanitarian organisations.

The situation is the worst for the Bosnian Serbs from the many Serb-populated villages around Tuzla, who cannot return to their torched villages and to whom the Moslem authorities of Tuzla are denying the status of refugees which would entitle them to food rations, such as they are.

The commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, French Army General Philippe Morillon, is well aware of the tragic plight of the Serbs in Tuzla and has on several occasions promised that Moslems in Tuzla would release as many Serb civilians as Bosnian Serbs would release Moslems from the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Srebrenica, but the promises have not materialised.

For their part, Bosnian Serb authorities have honoured the agreement and released thousands of Moslem refugees from Srebrenica, whereas barely 200 Serbs have, however, been allowed to leave Tuzla and they only because they held foreign citizenships, for reuniting with their families or for necessary medical treatment.

The U.N. Security Council has proclaimed Tuzla, together with five other Moslem enclaves (Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Gorazde, Zepa and Bihac), as 'safe areas', to be demilitarized, but the local Moslem authorities are refusing to surrender their weapons on orders from their command in Sarajevo.

Serb Helicopters Breach No-Fly Zone in Bosnia

LD3005091393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 May 93

[Excerpt] Chetnik helicopter flights over fringes of the Gradacac battlefield and the entire territory of the Bosnian river Sava basin were recorded last night. It is a long time since such a large number of flights, 17 in total, was recorded. The helicopters were flying between Bosanski Samac and Brcko. Five transport (?units) were (?air-dropped) in the Pelagicevo area east of Gradacac.

The helicopters flew at exceptionally low altitudes, perhaps because international forces are patrolling the Bosnia-Herzegovina sky. Whatever happens next, it is clear that Chetniks are continuing to transport people, equipment, weapons, and food by air in spite of all bans.

Regarding the situation on the Gradacac battlefield, the regroupings carried out yesterday and the day before [words indistinct] have not resulted in significant fresh

attacks on free territory. On the contrary, yesterday was one of the quietest days since the war started. It remains to be seen how long the lull lasts. [passage omitted]

Boban Urges Izetbegovic To Halt 'Senselessness'

*LD3105204493 Zagreb HTV Television
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 31 May 93*

[Letter to Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President from Bosnia Croat Leader Mate Boban, as identified on screen—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear Mr. Izetbegovic, in connection with the latest events and frequent alarming reports from Sarajevo about oppression and incomprehensibly bad treatment of Croats in Sarajevo, I am asking you to exert your personal influence in order to stop all actions which can result in negative consequences for the already troubled relations between Muslims and Croats.

The Zagreb statement and its implementation following the meeting in Medjugorje, and consistent respect for and fulfillment of obligations are the only possible way to solve all unresolved issues and alleviate absurd, irrational, detrimental and fatal tensions.

Everything that happens to the Croats in Sarajevo—constant accusations since the beginning of the war that the Croats are to blame for the situation in Sarajevo—accompanied by simultaneous intimidations and by taking Croat civilians to dig trenches, even in no-man's land, recalls the famous inscription from Dante's Hell: Abandon hope, all who enter here. Is this the ideal of a state? Where are freedom, rights, security?

The Croats in Sarajevo will be neither humiliated nor hurt in their dignity and the defense of their self-assertion and sense of belonging to their country.

Mr. Izetbegovic, do you not think as I do that all the tragic misunderstandings which we witness every day are destroying the possibility of the coexistence of our two nations, and at the same time are preventing the international public from taking more resolute and effective steps? Do you not share my opinion that deceit and lies cannot be the basis for anyone's life, including your nation?

Is it not time for you to accept and understand that a Croat man or woman will never accept being unfree and unequal anywhere, in relation to anyone? Is it not time that you stopped treating the Croat sacrifice for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a struggle for something and somebody other than a struggle for the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Is it not time that you stopped insinuating and admitted the truth that Herceg-Bosna is a part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that our struggle is an attempt to rebuild it on a firm and clear foundation?

I consider you the most responsible and most accountable interlocutor who can, if he wants, do everything possible to rebuild and strengthen the joint Croat-Muslim interest and enable the building of the joint

state. Stop the senselessness and the madmen on your side and be aware that in us you will always have a sincere and determined partner on the way of the cross.

Croats Continue 'Ethnic Cleansing' of Mostar Muslims

*LD3105164893 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1628 GMT 31 May 93*

[Text] Belgrade May 31 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Peter Kessler told REUTERS on Monday Bosnian Croat troops were expelling scores of Moslems daily from the Bosnian town of Mostar in an "ethnic cleansing" campaign.

Kessler also said several elderly Moslems had been terrorized to death after Croat troops invaded their homes.

"This is ethnic cleansing of up to 100 people a day and it has been picking up in the past few days," Kessler said.

"The UNHCR is trying to establish a presence in Mostar but so much of this cleansing is going on in the dead of night that stopping it is very difficult," Kessler said.

Kessler also said up to 3,000 Moslems—lack of independent witnesses prevented firm estimates—may have been evicted from Mostar since clashes between the former Bosnian civil war allies erupted in this central Bosnian town on May 9.

Croat-Muslim Negotiations Interrupted

*LD3105120593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 31 May 93*

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar for Croatian radio]

[Text] Following a meeting this morning, the mixed Muslim-Croat commission has interrupted its negotiations and it is not known when they will be resumed, the command of the [Bosnian Croat] southeastern Herzegovina operational zone has reported. No details of today's brief talks or reasons for the interruption have been disclosed.

This morning, one Croatian Defense Council (HVO) soldier was seriously wounded by Muslim snipers. The soldier was evacuated to a hospital in Split [in Croatia].

Muslim units engaged in constant provocations this morning. They have been opening mortar and infantry fire on HVO positions in Mostar. On several occasions the HVO responded to the attacks.

It is obvious that there is no peace in Mostar today.

Croats Report Muslim Attacks

*LD3105101093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 31 May 93*

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] Following a relatively peaceful day yesterday, Muslim snipers opened fire overnight on the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] Tihomir Mistic barracks and fired 12 mortar shells on Mostar from their strongholds in Mazolica and Fortica. This was announced by the command of the south Herzegovina operations zone. Hotel Ero, the seat of the HVO for the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosna, was the main target of the attack. Members of the Muslim forces employed sporadic small arms fire along the front line in the town and a residential building in Bulevar was set on fire. HVO forces opened fire in reply and did not suffer any losses.

Mostar has been quite peaceful this morning. According to reports from the south Herzegovina operations zone, yesterday UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members were not allowed to visit Croatian villages in the municipality of Konjic, where a massacre against the civilian population had been perpetrated. The same source said that a mixed Croat-Muslim commission is to resume work in Mostar today in the presence of UNPROFOR, EC, and Red Cross representatives.

Muslims Appeal to World Community for Help

LD3005185793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 May 93

[Excerpts] The coordination body of local communities in the besieged territory of Mostar today addressed the international public through an appeal for help:

We are appealing to all radio hams throughout Europe and the world, the news desks of radio and television stations, and other mass media, to inform the entire European and world public, all relevant associations and bodies of the European Community and the United Nations, about the extremely difficult situation in which Mostar has been over the past three weeks. Half of the town is completely encircled and under absolute blockade by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the regular Croatian Army [HV]. [passage omitted]

We would like to recall that nearly 30,000 people, mostly Muslims, after the aggression launched by the HVO and HV, have lived under unbearable conditions without drinking water, whose sources are controlled by the HVO and HV, and with nearly exhausted food reserves. All Mostar-bound roads are under siege, telephone lines are down. In an improvised hospital, which is insufficiently medically staffed, hundreds of wounded people are being treated, blood plasma and other medicaments are in short supply. Hygienic conditions in the hot and sultry climate are threatening to cause epidemics of huge proportions, the beginnings of which can already be seen. In addition, HVO and HV fighters have continued with daily shelling of densely populated city quarters, the consequence of which are dozens of casualties and fresh serious destruction of the already devastated town. [passage omitted]

The situation is made even more difficult by the fact that the Muslims find themselves in a real sandwich: between

the HVO and regular HV forces on one side, and the Serbian formations on the other, from whose positions destructive shells have been coming daily, also causing death and suffering.

We have learned that fresh fierce attacks on the besieged parts of Mostar are being prepared by HVO and HV formations; the confirmation of this is the arrival of fresh reinforcements and the digging in of heavy artillery pieces around the town.

We appeal to the European and world public and relevant bodies of the European Community and the United Nations to launch an energetic and urgent action to prevent a genocide against the Muslim people in Mostar and in the Neretva River Valley.

Mostar has turned into the largest concentration camp of double fascism, because its citizens are threatened with complete annihilation.

We also appeal to Mrs. Sadako Ogata to use her own and the authority of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], and take urgent steps to save threatened civilians and threatened lives of all the suffering citizens of Mostar in the besieged part of the town, and to lift the blockade of the water, food, and medical equipment supplies, concludes the statement of the coordination body of local communities in the besieged part of Mostar.

Fighting Between Croats, Muslims in Bihac

AU3105145793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Clashes between the Muslims and Croats are becoming increasingly intense. Gojko Dacic reports from the Cazin Krajina on the fighting between recent allies:

[Dacic] The fighting has recently intensified in the very town on the Una River. The Muslims wanted to place the town under their control at any cost. Street fighting is taking place in different town districts that are controlled by both sides. Mirsad Kermanovic, commander of the 501st Muslim Brigade, was seriously wounded in these clashes. Because of that, Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the Fifth Krajina Corps of the so-called Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who is from Sandzak, sent a protest note to Vlado Santic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council, asking him to stop the fighting.

As Muslim Radio Bihac reports, there are many dead and wounded in the town on both sides.

Muslims Reject UN Haven Status, Vow To Fight

AU3005155893 Paris AFP in English 1530 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Bihac, Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 30 (AFP)—Defiant Moslem authorities in Bihac Sunday rejected their status as U.N. safe area and vowed to defend the besieged enclave, despite the tightening Serb stranglehold.

The authorities, who have set up a mini-democratic state in the Moslem-controlled zone, are nevertheless divided over the chances of success of the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia.

Ramiz Drekovic, commander of the 5th Bosnian Army Corps defending the zone, which covers roughly 1,500 square kilometres (600 square miles), dismissed as "unacceptable" the May 22 Washington accord between western allies and Russia.

He said the plan, agreed by foreign ministers from the United States, Britain, France, Spain and Russia, "abandoned the (peace) plan" worked out by European Community mediator Lord Owen and his former U.N. counterpart Cyrus Vance.

The plan, rejected by Bosnia's Serb nationalists, would divide the former Yugoslav republic into 10 largely autonomous regions along ethnic lines.

The Washington accord called for more peacekeeping troops to defend six U.N.-declared mostly Moslem safe areas—Bihac, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Zepa, Gorazde and Tuzla—and the sealing of the Bosnia-Yugoslav border.

But Drekovic, a 37-year-old volunteer officer, rejected the scheme: "We do not want to be dumped in Indian reserves."

"We have been tricked by Europe. We will not become a new Srebrenica, we will not give up our weapons, we know how to defend ourselves," he added.

He was referring to the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave, the first zone to be declared a U.N. safe haven, where Serb forces agreed to end their attacks.

Muslims Launch Attack on Croatian Villages

LD0106145893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] At 1045 Muslim forces launched an attack on the Croatian villages of (Bolic), Dezevice, Gojevici, and Luzine in Fojnica municipality [north-west of Sarajevo] from the direction of the villages of Dusina and (Pogorelici).

As is stated in a report of the command of the Vice-Royal Jelacic Brigade from Kiseljak, this was a fierce infantry attack supported by fire from large-caliber howitzers. Muslim forces which have arrived from Zenica, Visoko, Kakanj, Jablanica, and Prozor are taking part in the attack.

Although outnumbered, units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] are resisting the attackers. According to the first reports, there are many dead and wounded among the HVO soldiers.

Members of the Muslim forces this morning set on fire a monastery and a church in (Brestovsko).

When the Muslim forces attacked, a meeting of representatives of the HVO, the Muslim army, and the UN

Protection Force's Canadian Battalion was in progress. The meeting was also attended by a delegation of the EC observer mission. They were informed at the meeting about attacks by Muslim forces, following which the EC observers went out into the field.

It is relatively quiet in Mostar today with sporadic infantry fire and explosions. A meeting of the Croat-Muslim commission is in progress. The head of the southeastern Herzegovina operational zone, Brigadier Miljenko Lasic, and the commander of the Muslim forces in Herzegovina, Arif Pasalic, are holding separate talks.

Muslim, Croat Fighting in Kiseljak

LD3005221693 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 30 May 93

[Excerpts] The day in Mostar and other Muslim-Croat battlefields was mainly quiet. However, the situation changed this evening.

[Unidentified correspondent] As the evening approached the lull in Mostar was interrupted. Muslim snipers started targeting the Tihomir Mistic barracks, the central bridge, and some districts of Mostar. At about 2100 two mortar shells were fired on the city. [passage omitted]

We have been informed by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] news center for Central Bosnia situated in Vitez that at 1600 Muslim forces launched a fierce infantry attack on Kiseljak municipality backed by artillery. Croatian positions in the areas of Lisovo Brdo, Kazagici, and Bresovsko are under attack. The town of Kiseljak is also being shelled, as well as the Catholic church in Bresovsko. Fighting is in progress and the HVO defenders continue to resist the attacks.

Other central Bosnian municipalities are quiet but very tense, particularly Travnik, where Muslim snipers are active.

RSK, Bosnian Serbs Reach Accord on Cooperation

LD2905211993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2037 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] Bijeljina, May 29 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina (RS) and the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) decided at a meeting in Bijeljina, north-eastern Bosnia, on Saturday evening in future together to discuss issues of importance for the entire Serbian people, especially for Serbs outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The chief result of the consultations on links and cooperation between the RS and the RSK is accord on the development of all forms of cooperation, RS President Radovan Karadzic said "the upcoming events must not find us unprepared and separated," he said.

The consultations was attended by members of the highest state and political leaderships and distinguished scientists and public figures of the two republics.

"This is not a body which will take decisions and the meetings will not adopt official conclusions, but a common conviction exists that it is necessary to work and develop political life in both the RS and the RSK, to strengthen democratic processes and use the right to referendum in regard to all vital issues," Karadzic said. He set out that the unification of the Serbian people "continues to be a strategic goal."

"Nobody has the right to deny us that, since it is a question of the self-determination of peoples which is guaranteed in many international documents. The Serbian people should not have allowed Yugoslavia to disintegrate without creating its own Serbian state," Karadzic said.

"We Serbs west of the River Drina are entitled under the St.- Germain Treaty to create our own state on the basis of the same right as Slovenes and Croats," Karadzic said.

Although some participants in the Bijeljina consultations urged that the decision on unification be stepped up, the opinion in favour of gradual talks on unification prevailed. Participants in the consultations said that chances for the unification were great.

The RS comprises areas in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina where Serbs constitute a majority.

The RSK was proclaimed in the predominantly Serb-populated areas in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in 1991 in response to Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and the loss of the status of a constituent nation by Serbs in that republic.

Three Italians Killed During Bosnian Army Ambush

LD3105204193 Rome RAI Televideo Teletext in Italian 2027 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Three Italians, members of a humanitarian organization, have been killed by men of the Bosnian Army. This was made known only today by UN military sources, who did not want to reveal the identity of the victims. Another two Italians were injured during the same ambush.

According to initial reports, the five Italians are said to have been stopped by some 30 men and one woman on the road between Novi Travnik and Gornji. Robbed of the food they were transporting, they were forced to follow the militiamen on foot. Suddenly the militiamen opened fire, killing three and injuring two.

Serb Krajina Assembly To Hold Unification Referendum

LD0106111293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Knin, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—President of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina Mile Paspalj has convened a session of the Krajina parliament for Saturday, 5 June in Petrinja.

The assembly will discuss the political and security situation in Krajina; the agenda includes the adoption of a decision to hold a referendum on the unification of the republic of Serb Krajina with the Serb republic and other Serb countries.

Serbs Claim Croats Continuing Attacks on Krajina

AU3105151693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 93

[Danko Peric report]

[Text] The Krajina positions and villages between Divoselo and (?Plasko) in Lika were subjected to fierce fire for three hours last night. Ten civilians were either slightly or seriously wounded in Citluk and Repac. Krajina military sources stated that these attacks by the Croatian Army were responded to.

According to the headquarters of the Serbian army of Krajina, the Croatian Army tried to launch an infantry attack near Morpolaca between Skradin and Benkovac. Smiljcici and other places near Benkovac, Mirlovic Polje, and other settlements on the edge of Petrovo Polje were attacked from almost all available weapons. Obrovac and Karin were shelled again. The Croatian Army vehicles were noticed moving toward Novigrad and Skradin. Fourteen aircraft were spotted in the air. According to the statement issued by the headquarters, they did not have any identification on them.

Krajina Serb Government 'Astonished' at Tudjman Threats

LD3105092293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0839 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—The Belgrade-based office of the government of the republic of Serb Krajina issued a statement today expressing astonishment at Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman's address to the Croatian Assembly yesterday, "particularly at the threat that Croatia will impose its constitutional and legal order in the republic of Serb Krajina."

The statement, signed by Slobodan Jarcevic, foreign minister of the republic of Serb Krajina, says that the people of the republic of Serb Krajina are ready to crush any aggression against their state territory. "By his policy, Tudjman has drawn a separation line between

Croatia and the Serb community for good and two states have been created by this act—the republic of Serb Krajina and the Republic of Croatia.

"The world has understood this and will certainly find a way to tame Tudjman's war plans, not only to keep Croatia under 'lenient sanctions' about which Tudjman complained in the Croatian Assembly," the statement says.

Serbs Shelling Croatian Villages North of Sibenik

LD2905102793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 May 93

[Text] This is Zoran Bujas reporting for Croatian Radio:

There is no peace in the Drnis crisis zone. From their stronghold in Trbounje, Serbian paramilitary forces are shelling Croatian units in the wider Pokrovnik area while I am sending this dispatch.

Artillery attacks were launched shortly before 1100. They are nothing more than continued armed provocations, which started in the Drnis area early this morning. With help from mortar fire, Chetniks attempted an infantry advance along the Zitnic-Pakovo Selo line around 0530. The Croatian army noticed a company of Chetniks in time and the advance was repelled.

Afterward, mortar shells were fired on the village of Pakovo Selo at 0700 and around 0915. As a result of this, the Sibenik information center warns the people of Sibenik county to take all necessary of caution and not to stay in open spaces longer than necessary.

Croatian Defense Minister: 'There Is No Bosnia'

LD2805154693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1432 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Zagreb, 28 May (TANJUG)—Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak has told the Zagreb paper VECERNJI LIST that extending the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate is acceptable to Croatia if the possibility of the use of force by UNPROFOR is envisaged.

If the problems are not solved through the extension of the UNPROFOR mandate "then we shall solve them ourselves," Susak stressed, adding that that will be the last test of the Croatian side's patience.

Speaking of the possibility of lifting the arms embargo on the Muslims Susak said that this is "absolutely unrealistic" and "stupid."

Asked what will happen with the Posavina corridor Susak emphasized that according to the proposal the corridor will be "a road under UN and police control, with no military presence." The army will have to withdraw 5 km on each side of the road.

This is an interim period until Bosnia-Herzegovina is organized as a state, he said. Asked whether Bosnia exists at all any more, Susak said: "A transitional period of the state still exists, but that will mean nothing. There is no Bosnia."

Federal

Federal Assembly Dismisses President Cosic

*LD3105222293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 31 May 93*

[Report by correspondent Jelena Hinic from the Federal Assembly]

[Text] Not only has the Chamber of Citizens of the Assembly of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia established by a majority vote that President Cosic has violated the Constitution, but it has also decided to relieve him of his post. The results of the secret vote has just been announced. Out of 119 deputies, 75 voted yes, 34 voted no, and there were 10 invalid ballots.

The first vote was on whether Cosic violated the Constitution. This decision was passed by public vote; 77 voted yes, 22 deputies voted no, and 24 abstained. The break just ended and we told you the results as we received them.

The very motion of the first vote—whether or not Cosic violated the Constitution—was preceded by a debate, not only about procedural matters but also about the political consequences of such a motion. The deputies polarized into two camps—the radicals' standpoint that Cosic had to abandon his post was opposed by the Democrats who were claiming that this was a ruthless move outside the bounds of democratic conduct. There were suggestions, coming from the ranks of the Serbian Renaissance Movement, that Cosic's possible violations of the Constitution be examined and that this document should be thoroughly analyzed.

There were also demands that Cosic ought to address the Assembly, i.e. that he should be entitled to defend himself.

Whether or not Cosic violated the Constitution was also discussed at the Chamber of Republics, something it is duty-bound to do under its code of practice. At the moment Novak Kilibarda of the People's Party of Montenegro is speaking. He is determinedly opposing this motion to topple Cosic.

Chamber of Republics Ousts Cosic

*LD3105231393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network
in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 31 May 93*

[Text] The Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly is still in session. Vladimir Nikolic reports from there:

[Nikolic] President of the Chamber of Republic Milos Radulovic has just announced that President Dobrica Cosic has been relieved of his post. This was preceded by a vote: 22 deputies voted yes, 10 voted no.

There was a brief debate prior to this vote in the Chamber of Republics. This was then followed by a vote on whether or not President Cosic has violated the Constitution, and eventually by a vote on whether to

relieve him of his post. The outcome is, as I said a short while ago, the fact that President Cosic has, after all, been relieved of his post. To repeat, there were 22 yes votes while 10 deputies voted no.

Reasons Given for Dismissal

*AU3105203493 Belgrade RTB Television Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 31 May 93*

[Dragana Vasiljevic report]

[Excerpts] Opening the afternoon part of the session of the Chamber of Citizens, Chairman Radoman Bozovic told deputies that a letter has been sent to Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in which he was informed that the initiative of the Serbian Radicals was placed on the agenda of the afternoon session. Vojislav Seselj [leader of the Serbian Radical Party] was the first to ask to speak. He spoke on behalf of those who proposed the discussion. He said that President Cosic has been avoiding performing his constitutional role and proposing the candidates for the federal judiciary posts. He also reminded the deputies that on several occasions Cosic made statements saying that he cannot cooperate with the Federal Assembly. It is, therefore, normal, Seselj said, that he should resign. The president of the republic partially involved himself in conducting foreign policy, something he is not empowered to do at all. This is in the sphere of competence of the Federal Government. He also overstepped his constitutional powers in the negotiations with Croatia and Franjo Tudjman. After the elections, Cosic interfered in the election policy and insisted on establishing a concentration [koncentracion] government.

[Begin Seselj recording] Everything that Dobrica Cosic has done has caused enormous damage to our country at home and abroad. This has weakened the political strength of our country and has led to the complication of political circumstances. If such conduct by Mr. President were to remain unsanctioned by the Federal Assembly, this would create a base for something much more dangerous, for the emergence of Bonapartism in our political life, the emergence of ambitions for grabbing much greater powers and authority with extra-institutional and extra-parliamentary methods, and simply destroying the democratic and political institutions or bringing them into the situation in which their abolishment would be the only logical way out.

Therefore, the Serbian Radical Party insists on its request, considering it to be well substantiated, and expects the Federal Assembly to establish that the president of the Republic has violated the provisions of the FRY Constitution, and, following this claim or assertion, adopt a decision to relieve him from the post he is holding. Thank you. [end recording]

Deputy Ratko Markovic said that Dobrica Cosic violated the Federal Constitution on three occasions.

[Begin Markovic recording] First, he exceeded the deadline by which he was supposed to propose to the Federal Assembly a candidate for the head of the Federal Government. This is seven days from the day of assuming the post. This is Article 6, Paragraph 1, of the Constitutional Law for implementing the Constitution. What is more, he said that he did so intentionally because the deadline set in the constitutional law did not correspond to the seriousness and importance of the act as the proposal of a candidate for the head of the Federal Government. [passage omitted]

Second, he withdrew the list of nominees for members of the Federal Constitutional Court, the judges of the Constitutional Court, and the Federal State Prosecutor that he had sent to the Federal Assembly without immediately submitting a new list. [passage omitted]

Third, he unconstitutionally set up a Council for Coordination of State Policy with his decision—in the nomenclature of rules a decision is an act of the assembly—which determined the function, composition, and powers of the decisions of this council. First of all, the president of the Republic is not empowered by the Constitution to make these kind of acts. Second, even if he were, he does not have any constitutional powers in the sphere of state policy because this entire sphere falls under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. [end recording]

Srdjan Darmanovic, deputy of the Socialist Party of Montenegro, said that Dobrica Cosic was a president of the federation, which would not exist without Montenegro and Montenegrins. Since he has assumed his post, President Cosic has never mentioned Montenegrins or Montenegro, which, in his view, is a communist creation, Darmanovic said.

He said that these arguments were more convincing than those presented by the Serbian Radical Party, adding that as long as it is part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Montenegro must have a federation president who will respect all of its republics and parts.

Nedeljko Sipovac, head of the deputy caucus of the Socialist Party of Serbia, stressed that Cosic has overstepped the constitutional framework and acted contrary to its provisions. He illustrated this with Cosic's meeting with the military leadership. On that occasion, the head of state mentioned several incorrect facts and questioned the concept of the Constitution. [passage omitted]

Milorad Jevric, deputy of the Serbian Radical Party, said that President Cosic was not up to the importance of the political moment. He favored certain political parties, which, as president of the country, he should have not done. Cosic directly influenced the tightening of the sanctions to the maximum. According to Jevric, he violated the Constitution when he brought observers to our airports. A sovereign state cannot allow that. President Cosic is incompetent to be the head of this state because he made a number of erroneous moves, Jevric said.

As we are reporting, the discussion is still going on.

Montenegrin Ruling Party Protests

LD0106002593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2345 GMT 31 May 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] Novak Kilibarda [People's Party of Montenegro chairman] said at the beginning of the debate that Dobrica Cosic had not taken a single step which could justify his toppling. His toppling, Kilibarda believes, has destroyed the cornerstone of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The deputies of the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro disagreed with this method of ousting a president of state, refusing to take part in the decision-making. They expressed fears that tonight, as they said, it is not Cosic who is being discussed "but something more significant," and that the new leaders who were going to be installed "will shatter the state."

[Chamber of Republics Vice President] Radmilo Bogdanovic explained the reasons behind the Serbian Socialist Party's motion to oust Cosic. They stem, above all, from his recent meeting with the General Staff, something that is regarded as "destructive conduct towards the state."

Panic Also Attacked

LD3105181693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 31 (TANJUG)—The bicameral Yugoslav parliament opened session on Monday with a debate on whether or not the Yugoslav president has violated the Constitution. The issue was placed on the agenda of the Chamber of Citizens after a two-hour debate. The motion was tabled by the Club of the Serbian Radical Party in early February. The Radical Party has on several occasions raised the question of confidence in President Cosic, challenging his foreign and home policies. The party has lately directed its attacks also at the Yugoslav Army's Chief of Staff, General Zivota Panic, whom it has accused of bribery and abuse of office.

The Chambers of Citizens and Republics will hold a joint session on Tuesday to discuss Yugoslavia's current foreign political position.

Assembly Speaker To Act as President

LD3106235593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2328 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 31 May (TANJUG)—President of the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly Milos Radulovic will be performing the duty of FRY president until a new head of state is elected. The first FRY President Dobrica Cosic was relieved of his post last night which, according to the Constitution, terminated his mandate.

Jovanovic Rejects Terms of Washington Plan

LD0106110993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Jun (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is not a master of the war in Bosnia and cannot influence the Serbs to withdraw from occupied territories or from any other territory, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic told deputies of the Federal Assembly.

Speaking about unacceptable conditions set out in the Washington document on Bosnia, Jovanovic reiterated that it is not in Yugoslavia's interest, nor is it in accordance with its Constitution, to accept the deployment of foreign military observers along borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Neither is it desirable or necessary to increase international presence in Kosovo, where peace and order prevail despite persistent efforts of separatist ethnic Albanian forces to provoke conflicts, Jovanovic stressed.

Social Democratic Party Changes Name

LD2805173593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 28 May 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 28 May (TANJUG)—The Social Democratic Center Party [Socijaldemokratska Partija Centra] is the new name under which one of the two social democratic parties will be active, party Chairman Cedomir Mirkovic told a news conference today. According to him, the party's main board made this decision last night and has thus resolved the confusion created after the Social Democratic Party divided into two fractions. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Gligorov, Milosevic Discuss Balkan Issues

LD3105164993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1631 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Belgrade/Ohrid, May 31 (TANJUG)—Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Kiro Gligorov of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia (F.Y.R.M.) met in Ohrid, F.Y.R.M., on Monday and discussed questions affecting the political situation and stability in the Balkan region, said a statement released from President Milosevic's cabinet in Belgrade.

A statement released from President Gligorov's cabinet in Skopje said that the three-hour talk related also to the economic sanctions clamped on the Yugoslavia (made up by Serbia and Montenegro) by the U.N. Security Council a year ago, which seriously affect the neighbouring F.Y.R. Macedonia.

The F.Y.R. of Macedonia has recently become a member of the United Nations under the provisional name, because Greece challenges its right to use the name of

Macedonia on the grounds that it denotes the new state's territorial aspirations after Greece's northern province of that name.

Gligorov Encouraged To Reject U.S. Plan

AU3105174493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] As we have stated in the headlines, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic visited Ohrid today, where he held talks with Kiro Gligorov, president of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Our correspondent Boris Djordjioski reports:

[Djordjioski] The talks were held in the Biljana Villa, the most beautiful building on the banks of the Ohrid Lake. They started in the morning and then resumed in the afternoon. A brief communique issued by the Macedonian president's cabinet states that Gligorov and Milosevic exchanged views on the current political issues aimed at stabilizing the situation in the region.

The meeting between the two presidents was closed for journalists. It was also unannounced. It surprised many people here in Ohrid. The numerous policemen between the airport and the Biljana Villa—in other words, the visible security—indicated that a prominent guest from abroad is visiting the area. This was followed by a brief official statement, which shed a bit more light on the secrecy of the meeting.

The Macedonian Press Bureau, the Macedonian Government Agency, reports that the real aim of the surprise visit by Milosevic to Ohrid was to persuade his host Gligorov not to accept Washington's proposal on the posting of U.S. soldiers on the border with Serbia. The Press Bureau also stated that U.S. President Clinton made this proposal two weeks ago.

Government Rejects Vance-Owen Compromise on Name

AU3005195393 Paris AFP in English 1935 GMT 30 May 93

[Text] Skopje, May 30 (AFP)—The authorities in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia insist that the republic's name should remain "the Republic of Macedonia," Macedonian Government sources have said.

The sources, quoted by Skopje's independent A1 television channel Sunday, said the plan to change the name to the "Republic of New Macedonia," proposed by international peace mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, was "not acceptable."

Macedonia supported the mediators' efforts, and although it did not accept their proposal, it was "ready to continue negotiations," the sources said.

The republic was admitted to the United Nations last month under the provisional name of "the Former

Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia," but wants recognition as the "Republic of Macedonia"—a title rejected by Greece, which claims to have the sole historic right to use the name "Macedonia."

Article Assesses Balkan Crisis, Serb Army

AU3005185593 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 May 93 p 11

[Zoran Petrov article: "Confusion in the Balkan Labyrinth"]

[Excerpts] Even those who are very good at reading between the lines will find it difficult to give a specific answer to the question on what the outcome of the latest moves by the international community and statements by its officials on the settlement of the Balkan crisis and commotion will be. Not that the so-called international community, embodied in the United Nations, the EC, the CSCE, and lately NATO, has not engaged or entangled itself to a lesser or greater degree in untangling the Balkan knot. The initial impression, however, is that it is doing this with much restraint, much dilettantism, many reservations, conflicting interests, compromises, and with a lot less determination and sincere intention to help.

However crazy this may sound, the fact is that the international humanists, intellectuals, and pacifists have recently been saying that the conflict in the Balkans will either insignificantly or significantly, directly or indirectly, be conducted from outside. In other words, regarding the character, form, and intensity of the combat in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one could, objectively speaking, conclude that the Bosnian conflict is as much a result of certain moves by the international community as it is the product of the local "warlords." Even the latest U.S. initiative concerning military intervention against the Bosnian Serbs, irrespective of all its emptiness, antagonism, and different interpretations and understanding, does not instill any optimism that something could be done, nor does it indicate a genuine desire or interest, whatever, for that.

How To Deal With the Bosnian Hedgehog?

The firm position of the United States concerning a punitive expedition that should bring the Bosnian Serbs to their senses is seen by many as simply a Clinton administration tactic aimed at diverting public attention from the largely unrealizable promises made during the election campaign of the current U.S. President. Not only that, in the last few months there has been an interesting, paradoxical disagreement among the top U.S. military officials concerning the issue of military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

Serbia Will Strike Back?

Regarding the weapons of the Serbs, who are currently the dominant military component in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is known that they have over 100,000 armed soldiers, about 300 tanks—of which some are the most modern, the M-84 type—nearly 200

armored personnel carriers, about 30 multiple rocket launchers, the Luna surface-to-surface missiles, about 500 artillery pieces, around 50 MiG-21 aircraft, the Orao, and the Jastreb type, and 36 Gazelle helicopters. From the strategic point of view, one must not ignore the fact that even during the time of the Yugoslav People's Army, Bosnia-Herzegovina was planned to be the main defensive bulwark of the SFRY, which means strong fortifications and military production facilities. The bulk of the military-industrial complex of the former Yugoslavia was and still is located in the parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina controlled by the Serbs. From the military-technical point of view, a much more important factor concerning the outcome of a possible military intervention by the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina is that the Serbian armed forces already have two years of combat experience, something that should certainly not be underestimated.

Behind Karadzic's and Mladic's army is the Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with about 300 combat aircraft. There are several supersonic MiG-29 squadrons. They also have several hundred attack helicopters, 1,500 tanks, about 1,000 armored personnel carriers, 1,500 infantry guns, 5,000 mortars, about 1,000 antitank artillery pieces, and nearly 3,000 antiaircraft guns. It is clear that these round figures represent "small fish" for the American "smart" missiles, which could completely paralyze the entire defense system of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in a few days of intensive bombing. It appears that the problem is something else. Two weeks ago, radical Vojislav Seselj, and a few days ago, Radovan Karadzic, the leader of the Bosnian Serbs, stated that if Serbia was attacked, civilian targets in Italy, Austria, and Croatia would also be hit by missiles in revenge. Moreover, Zivota Panic, commander of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, stated that he has a secret weapon which the Americans do not know about, and that this weapon can inflict enormous losses on the international military alliance. Intelligence services assume that this weapon is the Russian cruise missile, the SS-22, with a range of 1,000 km, obtained through God knows what channels. Therefore, if one takes into account the pronounced U.S. indecisiveness concerning military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the picture gradually becomes clear about the current status quo in the settlement of the Bosnian crisis. Certain corrections to the Vance-Owen plan, for the benefit of the Serbs, are also becoming visible.

Where Do We Stand?

At present, the Republic of Macedonia, to put it graphically, is balancing itself on the top of a needle. As a small country in the middle of the Balkans, stuck between neighbors who have different aspirations and who are continuously obstructing it, Macedonia, at a time when the Greek-Macedonian talks and a whole range of issues concerning the settlement of the Bosnian crisis are still

unclear, is gradually but surely becoming a NATO zone of interest, that is, through its mighty "boss," the United States. After all, this was officially stated by U.S. President Clinton personally about 10 days ago, and by some members of his administration, namely that talks were held on sending U.S. troops (there was a mention of 700) to Macedonia. They would be a part of the current UNPROFOR peace contingent. This initiative, although unofficially rejected at UN headquarters and not enthusiastically received by the European diplomats either, which means that it is uncertain, should also be understood as a signal that the United States intends to realize its influence and interests in this region. This position by the United States has, in a way, recently been reiterated by State Secretary Warren Christopher, who said that if Serbia attacked Macedonia, the United States would act most resolutely.

Why is the Republic of Macedonia becoming important for the United States, especially when it is known that under the influence of Greek propaganda, for which Clinton's Administration has a great deal of understanding, it has hardly been mentioned hitherto. First, Macedonia represents an important link in the Serbian revenge strategy (if it is to be attacked, of course) of provoking armed conflict in the entire region. One should not ignore the idea of Belgrade military strategists (who, after the umpteenth purge in the Army ranks, are exclusively of the radical stripe) that in case of an attack on the republic, all neighboring countries would be drawn into a direct military conflict which will be marked by the Greek-Turkish duel, considering that both countries have interests in Macedonia. Second, the spreading of the Bosnian war in the south, toward Sandzak, Kosovo, and Macedonia, would again represent a focal point for the involvement of neighboring countries in a large regional war. Third, if the conflict spreads to Kosovo and Sandzak, Macedonia would be extremely important for effective supervision and control of the situation in this region. The possibility of Macedonia becoming an aircraft carrier for the United States for possible military intervention against Serbia cannot be ruled out at all. Fourth, Macedonia is of strategic importance for the United States if it is to control the entrance to the Adriatic Sea and create a shield (together with Albania and Bulgaria) against the Russian-Serbian interests in this part of the Balkans.

The question that remains unanswered is how and when the U.S. idea will be realized (and whether it will be realized at all), especially after the statements by our government officials that they read about all this in the press. In any case, this initiative is opening up wide possibilities for the Republic of Macedonia as a state with many unfriendly neighbors, or a Balkan "powder keg," to present itself as a center via which many strategic problems in the confusing and heated Balkan region can be solved.

Serbian Church Appointment Called 'Provocation'

LD3105161693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Croatian 1300 GMT 31 May 93

[Text] Macedonia officially reacted today to the Serbian Orthodox Church's appointment of Archimandrite Jovan as its administrator of the diocese of the Macedonian Orthodox Church, calling this a provocation which confirms that Serbia is interfering in Macedonia's internal affairs, the press service of the Macedonian Ministry of Information has said.

Montenegro

Prime Minister on Deployment of Observers Along Border

LD2805230993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2139 GMT 28 May 93

[Text] Podgorica, 28 May (TANJUG)—Reacting to a statement by Montenegrin Minister of Foreign Affairs Miodrag Lekic in Rome that Montenegro accepts deployment of foreign observers along its border with Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegrin Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic said this evening that before a final conclusion is made we should wait until the Montenegrin Foreign Minister returns home, "when he is going to explain that statement."

"According to what I have learned, that statement was carried by Italian news agency Ansa quoting an interpretation of the Italian Foreign Minister," Djukanovic stated in Open Studio program of the Montenegrin TV.

"Montenegrin stands regarding this issue, which aroused interest of the public, are well-known," the Montenegrin Prime Minister said adding that Montenegro had announced that its support for the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina would be limited to humanitarian aid in food and medicines.

"If that is so, I see no reason why we would not permit insight into the consistency of implementation of political orientations not only of the Montenegrin leadership, but also of all leaderships in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," Djukanovic said.

According to him, reasons which "motivated the Yugoslav president and the Yugoslav Assembly president to express reserves toward such a stand, and which are primarily motivated by inter-political reasons in the Republic of Serbia itself," ought to be taken into consideration with much subtlety.

"I believe that, if the international community wishes a stable Yugoslavia and its further constructive role towards the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, it should also have respect for the internal political problems facing each member of the Yugoslav federation," Djukanovic said.